Who were the Plunderers of Salmydessus?

Miroslav Ivanov Vasilev

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Institute of Balkan Studies and Center of Thracology, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

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Cover: A view from the south-eastern coast of Lake Terkoz, near the Village of Terkoz (photo by the author)

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In Memoriam
Maria Marinchevska (1932–2020)

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Miroslav Ivanov Vasilev

Troyan, October 2021

Preface

In 2015 I was invited by Gocha Tsetskhladze to participate in the Sixth International Congress on Black Sea Antiquities in Constanţa (Romania). After long consideration, I chose *The Inhospitable and Dangerous Salmydessus* as the title of the paper. The initial idea was to present a short paper which would contain all available references to Salmydessus and discuss those that had to do with its bad reputation as an inhospitable and dangerous place. I quickly realised that references to Salmydessus were numerous and posed some problems that were difficult to solve and could not be examined in depth in a short paper, and that it would be necessary to make a separate study to deal with them. In the course of the work two problems attracted my attention – who were Ps.-Scymnus' and Strabo's sources for Salmydessus, and who were the plunderers of Salmydessus? Accordingly, over the next few months I worked on both the paper and the problem of the sources of the authors in question. The results of the researches were published in the proceedings of the congress (2021) and in *Orbis Terrarum* (2019). As for the identification of the Thracian plunderers at Salmydessus, my preliminary observations were presented at the '3rd International Workshop on the Black Sea in Antiquity' held in Thessaloniki in September 2018. The present study was going to be published in the proceedings of the workshop, but, as the work progressed, more and more questions arose that required too much time for detailed consideration. For this reason, I was unable to prepare and submit my results in time, for which I sincerely apologise to the organiser of the workshop, Manolis Manoledakis. The following pages, therefore, present my ideas as far as the identification of the plunderers of Salmydessus is concerned.

I. Introduction

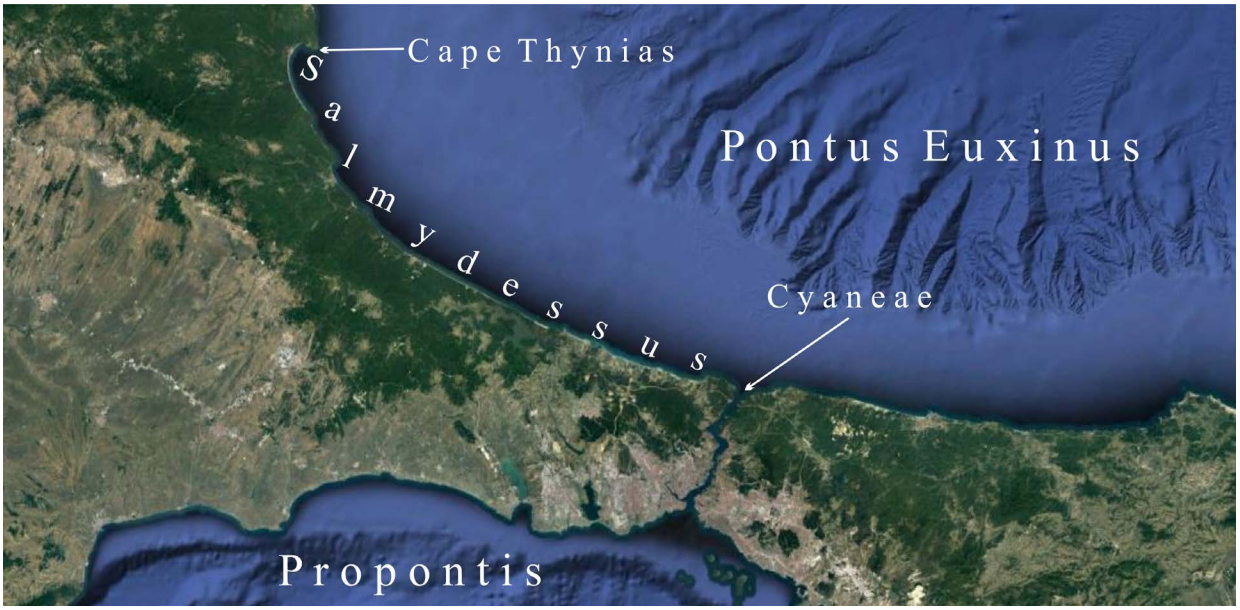

Figure 1: Salmydessus.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

In antiquity, the name Salmydessus is associated with a coast, a cape, a settlement, a river, a gulf, a sea, or, simply, a place situated in south-western Pontus, between the Cyaneae and Cape Thynias (**Figure 1**). In a recently published paper, I have collected more than forty references to Salmydessus found in scholia and works of ancient and medieval authors (7th/6th century BC – 12th century AD).[1] Approximately twenty of these mention the negative reputation of Salmydessus as an inhospitable and dangerous place. This negative reputation was due to both the characteristics of the place described as shallow, stony, desert, without a harbour, difficult to land on, wide open to the north winds and the piratical activity of the local Thracians, who plundered and harassed any castaways. Information on these Thracians and their piratical activities is found in ten of the references to the inhospitable and dangerous Salmydessus, but only Strabo mentions their name – in his view they were 'Astae'.

The aim of this present study is to identify, insofar as possible, whether the plunderers mentioned in the other nine references were Astae or other Thracians, who, during a given period, peopled, or at least exercised control over the Salmydessian coast. The goal set, the specificity of the references, and, above all, the probability that most of the authors discussed in the main body of the text were unfamiliar with the area of Salmydessus at first-hand, but relied on the works of their predecessors, define the character of this study and the research methods used. This is an historical work, having a strong element of *Quellenforschung*. In this particular case the finding of the primary source, or at least the earliest possible source, of each separate reference to the piratical activity of the Thracians at Salmydessus is of considerable importance, as the dating of these references and their comparison with the information found in other sources referring to roughly the same time period may answer

[1] See Vasilev 2021.

the question (or at least make it possible to offer a reasonable suggestion) who the Thracian pirates at Salmydessus were.

The ten references presented in the main body of the text concern different periods. Since only the Astae were explicitly mentioned as pirates at Salmydessus, it seems more practical to deal with them first, as well as with the author who notes them, namely Strabo. This approach allows one – after establishing a chronological framework of the Astaean presence at Salmydessus – to decide whether the other references also concern the Astae, or other Thracians. For that purpose, after analysing Strabo's information we shall continue with those references dealing with two earlier periods (from the later to the earlier) first, and after that with those dealing with the later periods. Thus, the references can be studied in the following order: Strabo, Xenophon and those who followed him (Diodorus, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, and the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*), the Strasbourg Epodes, scholia on Apollonius Rhodes' *Argonautica*, and Dionysius of Byzantium.

II. Strabo

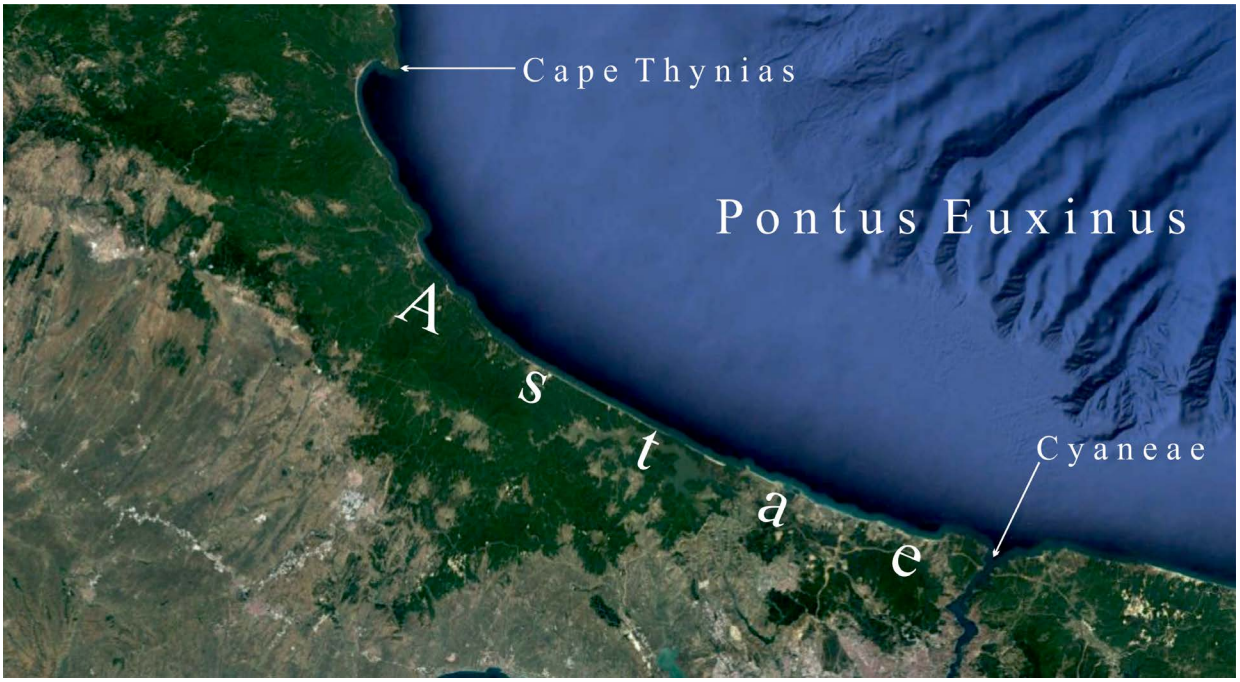

Figure 2: Strabo's Salmydessus.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

II.1. Strabo's Data on Salmydessus. The Provisional Chronological Framework of the Astaean Presence at Salmydessus

In his description of western Pontus, Strabo discusses Salmydessus as follows:

> Strabo VII.6.1 (Radt 2003) – Πάλιν δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ἐπὶ Κυανέας στάδιοί εἰσι περὶ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ ἥ τε Θυνιάς, τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν χώρα, καὶ Φινόπολις καὶ Ἀνδριακή, συνάπτουσαι τῷ Σαλμυδησσῷ· ἔστι δ' οὗτος ἔρημος αἰγιαλὸς καὶ λιθώδης, ἀλίμενος, ἀναπεπταμένος πολὺς πρὸς τοὺς βορέας, σταδίων ὅσον ἑπτακοσίων μέχρι Κυανεῶν τὸ μῆκος, πρὸς ὃν οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν διαρπάζονται τῶν ὑπερκειμένων, Θρᾳκίου ἔθνους.

From the quoted passage it is clear that Strabo describes Salmydessus as a coastline, 700 stades long, which stretched to the Cyaneae (**Figure 2**). The coast was a desert, stony, and harbourless, wide open to the north winds. Those who were wrecked on it were plundered by the Thracian Astae tribe. The passage is part of Strabo's *Geography*, whose final revision should be dated after AD 23.[2] In a recent article, I reach the conclusion that Strabo's description of western Pontus and, in particular, of Salmydessus, referred to an earlier period, and probably draws directly on Artemidorus of Ephesus' Γεωγραφούμενα.[3] If this is the case,

[2] Vasilev 2015: 18–19.

[3] Vasilev 2019: 280–299. Contra Bošnakov 1994; Boshnakov 2003: 307–310, according to whom for VII.6.1 Strabo followed Posidonius of Apameia.

the reference to the Astae as plunderers of the castaways at Salmydessus must go back at least to 104–100 BC, which is the date of Artemidorus' ἀκμή.[4] This may mean that in the works of the authors who wrote after the publication of the Γεωγραφούμενα, and who were used by Strabo (for example Posidonius), there was no information about Thracians apart from the Astae, who plundered the castaways along the coast in question, or otherwise Strabo would probably have preferred to update his information on the plunderers at Salmydessus rather than merely retell what was said by Artemidorus. According to Strabo, therefore, the Astae continued to live above Salmydessus and plundered any castaways there, even in his own time. Thus the presence of the Astae at Salmydessus can be dated, at least at this stage of our research, from the period *c.* 100 BC – *c.* AD 25.

II.2. Lower Chronological Limit of the Astaean Presence at Salmydessus

II.2.1. Literary and Epigraphic Evidence

Although our data on the Astae is very scarce, the lower chronological limit fixed above can be corrected with some confidence if one takes into consideration the information provided by Titus Livy. Narrating the events from 188 BC, he describes the return of the Roman army headed by Gnaeus Manlius Vulso from Asia Minor. Somewhere in the narrow places near Cypsela the Romans were attacked by the united forces (10,000 men) of four Thracian tribes – the Astae, Caeni, Maduateni, and Coreli/Cornelii:[5]

> Liv. XXXVIII.40.7 (Weissenborn 1873) – ita cum per saltum iret, Thraecum decem haud amplius milia ex quattuor populis, Astii et Caeni et Maduateni et Coreli/Corneli, ad ipsas angustias viam circumsederunt.

From the report, it does not become clear exactly where, according to Livy (or more precisely according to his source – Polybius or Claudius Quadrigarius), the lands of the Astae were, but the site of the battle (near Cypsela) and the connection of the Astae with the Caeni indicate that at that time at least a part of their lands was to the south of the line Odrin (Edirne)–Lozengrad (Kirklareli)–Ineada (Igneada) (**Figure 3**). This conclusion raises the following question: is it possible for Salmydessus, or at least for its northern part, to have been under the control of the Astae during the first half of the 2nd century BC? In support of such a view, one can point to the following statement of Ps.-Scymnus:

Ps.-Scymnus (Marcotte)

> Εἶτ' εὐλίμενος ἄκρα συνάπτει Θυνιάς,
> τῆς Ἀστικῆς Θρᾴκης ὑπάρχουσ' ἐσχάτη,
> 730 μεθ' ἣν πόλις ἐστὶ σύνορος Ἀπολλωνία·

As becomes clear, in Ps.-Scymnus' view Thynias was the place where Thracia Astica bordered on the *polis* of Apollonia. Although the question of his identity remains unanswered, one can claim with some confidence that Ps.-Scymnus lived and worked before Strabo, sometime in the period 133–74 BC.[6] The information on Thracia Astica, however, refers to an earlier period, since in the preface of his *Periegesis* Ps.-Scymnus

[4] GGM I.566.31 –33. It is not clear to what extent this dating reflects reality, but it certainly does not contradict what is known about Artemidorus and his work: in his Γεωγραφούμενα he criticised Polybius' *Histories* (Stiehle F 14 = Strabo III.5.7, Stiehle F 59a = Strabo VIII.8.5) probably published after 120 BC (Polyb. III.39.8; Ziegler 1952: col. 1445.50–64), and he is quoted by Diodorus (Stiehle F 82 = Diod. III.11.2), the latest event in whose *Historical Library* occurred not earlier than 36 BC (Diod. XVI.7.1).

[5] Danov (1979: 84) believes that among the four Thracian tribes the Astae led the coalition and took part in the battle with most warriors. According to Delev (2010: 102), among the four tribes the Caeni were the strongest.

[6] See a summary of different opinions by Boshnakov 2004: 1–32 who identifies Ps.-Scymnus with Semos of Delos (2004: 33–69).

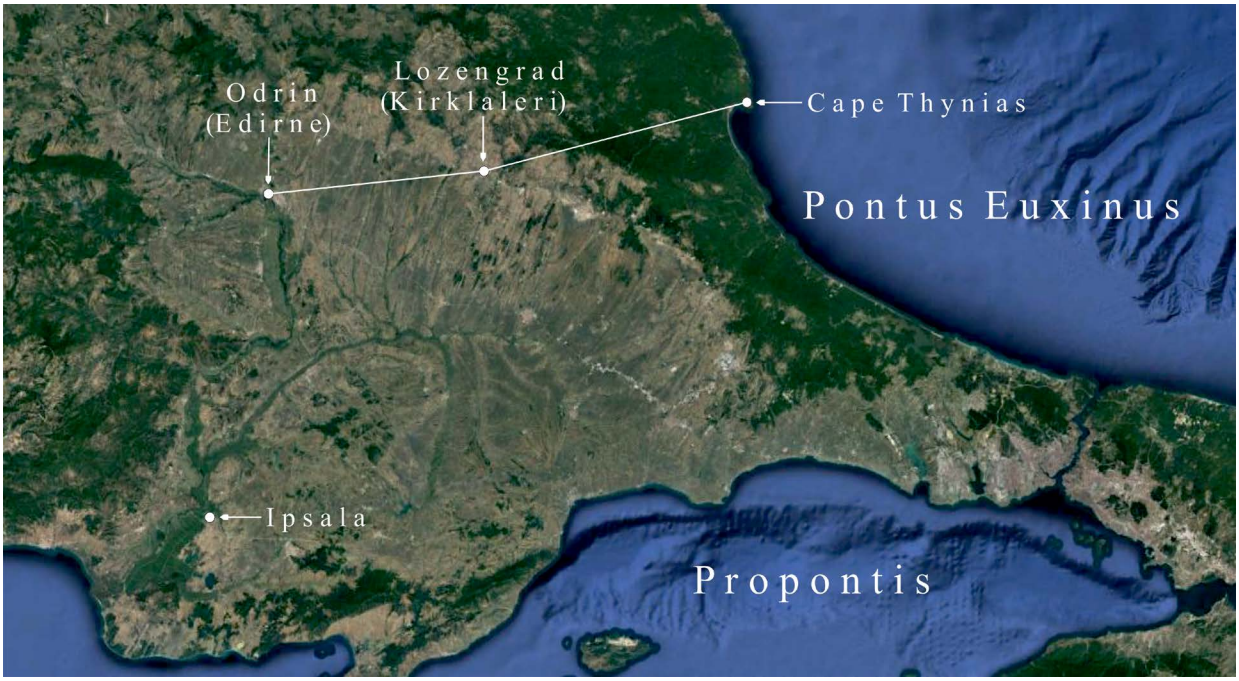

Figure 3: The Line Odrin (Edirne)–Lozengrad (Kirklareli)–Ineada (Igneada).
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

explicitly identifies the places he had visited personally.[7] The Pontus is not among them, i.e. he was not familiar with its coast directly, but relied on the works of his predecessors. Fortunately, Ps.-Scymnus lists the authors he used. They are as follows: Eratosthenes, Ephorus, Dionysius of Chalcis, Demetrius of Callatis, Cleon of Sicily, Timosthenes, Callisthenes, Timaeus of Tauromenium, and Herodotus.[8] Among them Demetrius of Callatis is much the most appropriate candidate for the explanation that Thynias was the place where Thracia Astica bordered on the *polis* of Apollonia: as a native of the western Pontus he must have been familiar with the political situation in the region.[9] Demetrius was the author of Περὶ Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης, which consisted of twenty books and was published after 215/4 BC, and most probably not later than the middle of the 2nd century BC.[10] If the report under discussion was really drawn on Περὶ Ἀσίας και Εὐρώπης then this may mean that during the first half of the 2nd century BC the Astae were those who had control over Salmydessus, or at least over the part of it situated near Thynias (**Figure 4**).

Livy's evidence discussed above is the earliest certain information about the Astae. It is possible, however, that they were also mentioned in Book 13 of Polybius' *Histories* in connection with the events of 206–204 BC. In support of this view, one can point to the *lemma Cabyle* from Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnika*, which says as follows:

> St. Byz. Καβύλη, πόλις Θρᾴκης οὐ πόρρω τῆς τῶν Ἀστῶν χώρας. Πολύβιος τρισκαιδεκάτῃ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καβυληνός ὡς Ἀρτακηνός.

[7] Ps.-Scymn. vv. 128–136.
[8] Ps.-Scymn.vv. 112–127. The lines between Timosthenes and Timaeus are seriously corrupt and the only name that can be read is that of Callisthenes. One should not ignore the possibility that other authors used by Ps.-Scymnus may have been cited in the corrupted lines. As to their names, one can only speculate.
[9] Boshnakov 2004: 162; Vasilev 2019: 279.
[10] Susemihl 1891: 681; Schwartz 1901: col. 2806.66–2807.9; Boshnakov 2004: 79–80; Engels 2014: note on T 1 and Biographical Essay.

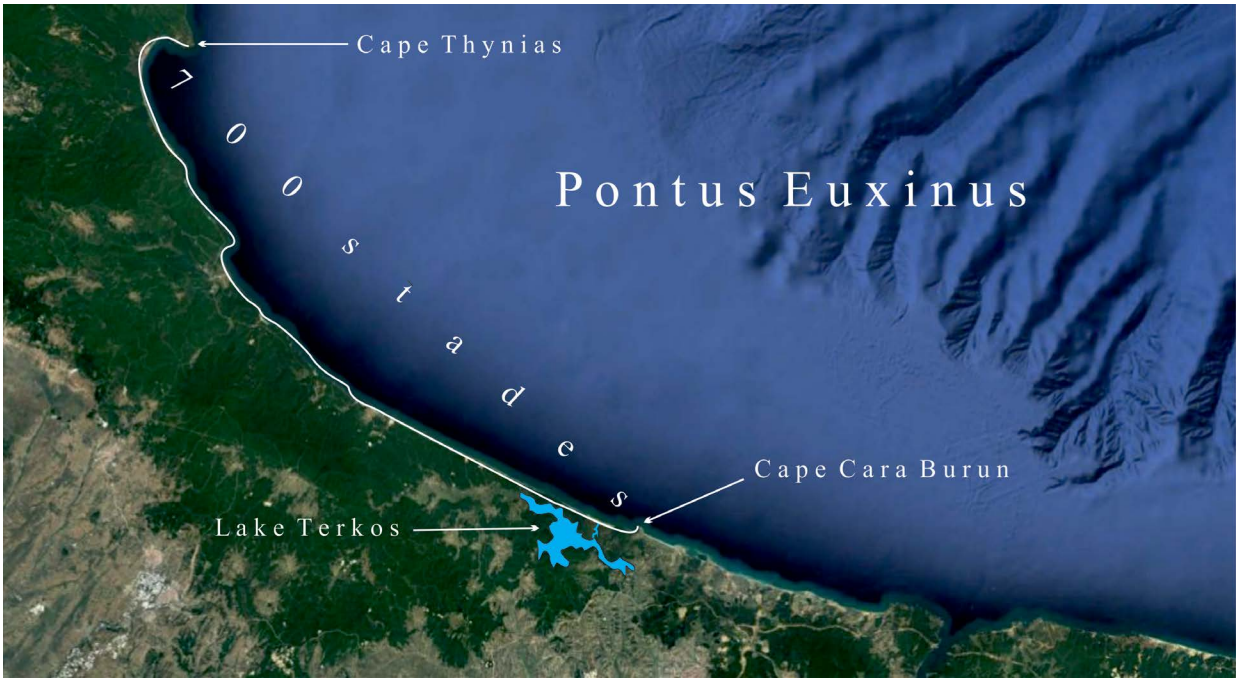

Figure 4: Ps.-Scymnus' Salmydessus.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

Figure 5: Mesambria, Cabyle and Bizya.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

The *lemma* is devoted to Cabyle, so there is no doubt that Polybius mentioned the *polis*. However, our text of Stephanus' *Ethnika* is an epitome, which leaves it open to doubt whether οὐ πόρρω τῆς τῶν Ἀστῶν χώρας also belonged to Book 13 of the *Histories*. It is possible that Polybius' name appeared in the final part of the original text and was retained because the epitomator wished to make clear that he

mentioned Cabyle, but ended up next to a reference to the Astae simply as an accident of epitomisation.[11] Yet, if one accepts that the expression οὐ πόρρω τῆς τῶν Ἀστῶν χώρας was copied from Polybius, this will probably mean that the Astae were at their peak at the very end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC. Not only did they have control over lands to the south of Strandja (based on Ps.-Scymnus' and Livy's reports discussed above), but, apparently, they extended their power to the north of the mountain as far as Cabyle (**Figure 5**). Moreover, it is possible that at that time the Astae could influence events in the lands to the east of Cabyle – a Mesambrian decree dated from the first half of the 2nd century BC[12] mentions an obviously influential Astaean (Δε . . (.) της Δηζου Ἀστὰς) who was granted *proxenia*, *politeia*, and *isoteleia*.[13] The Astaean envoy mission in Rome in 172 BC, if the Astae were actually mentioned,[14] can also serve as evidence that their political importance had already grown.[15]

II.2.2. Beginning of the Military-Political Rise of the Astae, Direction of Their Expansion, and Location of Their Tribal Core

If one accepts that at the very end of the 3rd and during the first half of the 2nd century BC the Astae were at their peak, and that they ruled over relatively large and difficult to control areas (cut by the difficult to pass Strandja), including Salmydessus, then this will inevitably raise questions about the background of the process and about the possibility of going back the emergence of the Astae as a political factor. When, approximately, can the rise of the Astae, which led to the situation from the very end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC, be dated? Which was their native land? Who were the Astae? These questions are important for the present study, since if the Astae were late newcomers in the area of Salmydessus, then Xenophon's plunderers should be identified with some other tribe, whereas if they were locals then one should explore the likelihood of them being coastal pirates in 400/399 BC.

Unfortunately, in the absence of any references to the Astae before 206–204 BC these questions are almost impossible to answer. Yet, the large extension of the lands they ruled can be plausibly dated only after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom in south-eastern Thrace (between 218 and 211 BC), since, until the very end, the Celts remained a political and military factor in the region; their last ruler, Cavarus, received annual tribute (80 *talants*) from Byzantium[16] and, obviously, in 220/19 BC he had the authority

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[11] Cf. the preserved part of the *lemmata* with the epitome by Billerbeck 2011: 68–124.

[12] Danov 1952: 126, 137. See, however, Dumont 1892: 461 (111[f]) who dates the inscription to the 3rd century BC.

[13] IGBulg[2] 312. See Appendix.

[14] Livy XLII.19.6 – se discepnatisque et satis. The text is obviously corrupt. Weissenborn (1864: 302) proposes et Threcum legatis Maedis * que et Astiis, Madvig (1864: 57) – et Threcum legatis, Maedis, Odomantisque et Sapaeis, Briscoe (2012: 219) – Serdis † Cepnatis † que et Astis, and Iliev (2014) – Serdis, Cepnati, Satris. The Satrae are only mentioned by Hecataeus (BNJ 1 F 157), Stephanus of Byzantium (Σάτραι) who quotes him, and by Herodotus (VII.110.1, 111.1, 112.1), i.e. the information about them came from the 6th – 5th century BC, while if one follows Iliev then Livy mentions them as an active tribe in connection with much later events – those from 172 BC. It is certainly true that there is a possible precedent – the same Livy (XXXVIII.41.5–6) mentions the Trausi, who were noted before that (if they were the same people) only by Herodotus (V.3.2–4.1) – but in the case Livy (XLII.19.6) refers to envoys sent to the Roman Senate, not to event which happened in their lands, as was the case with the Trausi. On that basis, and given the state of affairs during the first three decades of the 2nd century BC, an Astaean, or even a Sapaean envoy mission appears more plausible. According to Petkov (forthcoming), it is logical that among the Thracian envoys in Rome there were Bessi, too.

[15] It is worth mentioning that according to Todorov (1998: 24–27) the Thracian Amadocus, mentioned in connection with the events from 185/84 BC (Livy XXXIX.35.4), was an Astaean ruler. Before him, Walbank (1967: 237, n. 5; also 1979: 199 note on XXII.14.12) also assumes this is likely: 'Amadocus was king of the Astae, in the immediate hinterland of Byzantium, or of the Caeni, a little to the north-west'. If that is correct then this is further evidence for Astaean activity during this period. However, the tribal origin of Amadocus remains debatable. Because of his name he is often considered Odrysian (see, e.g., Lenk 1936: col. 436.27–30; Hammond and Walbank 1988: 468; Petkov 2012: 57; Boteva-Boyanova 2014: 87–92, 95; Boteva 2017: 118), or even Caenian (Niese 1963: 28, n. 4).

[16] Polyb. IV.46.4.

to offer his mediation in the dispute between the Byzantines and the Bithynian king Prusias.[17] Moreover, about 220 BC, in a northerly direction, his influence reached as far as Cabyle, as evidenced by Cavarus' silver tetradrachms minted in the *polis*.[18] It should be noted, however, that at the same time Cabyle continued to mint its autonomous coinage.[19] Furthermore, during the war between Byzantium and Prusias the Thracian mercenaries of the Bithynian king prevented the Byzantines from leaving their gates.[20] The first is usually accepted as an indication that Cabyle was independent of the Celtic king, or at least up to a point, and that Cavarus' tetradrachms were a one-off payment.[21] The second may mean that Cavarus was not strong enough to expel Priusias' mercenaries from an area which was in the Celtic sphere of interest (those who paid him annual tribute were under attack), and for this reason he offered his mediation to the two sides. Be that as it may, Cavarus' political influence in the lands between the territories of Byzantium and Cabyle about 220 BC seems, at least for the present, hard to dispute. This is the reason why the great extension of the power of the Astae should be dated only after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace. It appears that, at least temporarily, they gained most from this event. If one accepts that approximately ten years after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom the authority of the Astae stretched on both sides of Strandja, and reached almost as far as Cabyle, this may mean that they were the major factor in the Thracian victory over the Celts. Polybius speaks generally about Thracians (ὑπὸ Θρᾳκῶν),[22] which points towards a joint military operation of several tribes (like the attack against Vulso?),[23] but one should not reject the possibility that the Astae played a leading role. Alternatively, it can be assumed that they simply took advantage of the vacuum left after the fall of the Celtic kingdom and extended the territories they ruled at the expense of other Thracian tribes. In both cases, however, they must have had the military potential to successfully perform this task.

The conclusion that the Astae emerged as a factor only after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom raises the following question: from which lands did their expansion start, and, accordingly, where was their tribal core? From the evidence discussed above it is clear that the Astae were first mentioned to the north of Strandja (if the fragment was really Polybian) – in 206–204 BC their lands (τῆς τῶν Ἀστῶν χώρας) stretched not far from Cabyle. In 188 BC they operated to the south of the mountain and probably during the first part of the 2nd century BC Cape Thynias (**Figure 6**) was already described as the place where Thracia Astica bordered Apollonia. At first glance, the putative earlier reference to the Astae to the north of Strandja indicates that before the collapse of the Celtic kingdom their tribal core was in this region, and that only after its fall did they move southwards and impose their power over certain lands, including Salmydessus, i.e. their expansion was from north to south. Expansion from north to south and the subjection of Salmydessus only after the fall of the Celtic kingdom may provide a satisfactory explanation of the question why the Astae were not mentioned in connection with the events before 206–204 BC concerning south-east Thrace and, in particular, Salmydessus and the area of Bizya. At the same time, their absence from the sources narrating the events to the north of Strandja, as far as the same period is concerned, can be explained by Odrysian power over the region, which deafened the

[17] Polyb. IV.52.1. Boteva 2010: 36; Boteva-Boyanova 2014: 37–38.

[18] Gerassimov 1958: 275; Draganov 1993: 75–86 and Plates XLII (862–869)-XLIII (870–873).

[19] Gerassimov 1958: 275; Draganov 1993: 79 and Plate XLIII (874–877).

[20] Polyb. IV.51.8.

[21] Gerassimov 1958: 275; Draganov 1993: 79; Delev 2004: 283–284; Emilov 2005: 328–329; Delev 2015: 62; Emilov 2015: 372. Emilov (2005: 329) connects the putative tribute to the Celts with a fragmentary inscription from Cabyle (published by Velkov 1985: 26, 1991: 11–12, no. 2) in which ΓΑΛΑ (= ΓΑΛΑΤΑΙ, ΓΑΛΑΤΩΝ?) is written. Later, another fragmentary inscription was published (Handzhiyska and Lozanov 2010: 256 and 257, image 6). It contained the same letters (ΓΑΛΑ), which the editors reconstructed cautiously as Γαλά[ται] (Handzhiyska and Lozanov 2010: 267, n. 27). Sharankov (2017: 201–205), however, proposes μεγάλας for the two inscriptions.

[22] Polyb. IV.46.4.

[23] Boteva-Boyanova 2014: 92–95.

Figure 6: Cape Thynias, view from the south.
(photo: author).

ethnonym Astae. If this is the case, then the Thracians at Salmydessus mentioned by Herodotus and Xenophon must have been different from the Astae.

However, such an inference, based solely on the location of their tribal core only by the earliest, but uncertain, reference to the Astae is too risky, since the chronological discrepancy between the first two references to them on both sides of Strandja is less than 20 years (to the north of it – 206–204 BC, and to the south – 188 BC). In support of the location of the tribal core of the Astae to the south of Strandja in the period immediately before the collapse of the Celtic kingdom, one can rely on two pieces of information.

The first is Ps.-Scymnus' statement, discussed above, that Cape Thynias was the place where Thracia Astica bordered on Apollonia. Given the authors used by Ps.-Scymnus, this reference probably reflected reality not later than the middle of the 2nd century BC, and if Demetrius of Callatis was his source not before than 215/14 BC. Therefore, the information concerned the period when the Astae were at their peak, or the time immediately after that – if one accepts that the disappearance (at least until Artemidorus' time) of the Astae from sources after 172 BC (?) was a result of decline of their power. In both cases, the limitation of the Astaean power along the Pontic coast in a northerly direction to Cape Thynias rather indicates that their expansion was from south to north. In the first case (the peak of their power), the control of the Pontic coast to the south of Thynias only, can be explained by an intention to conquer only that part of it (i.e. Salmydessus) which was close to the tribal core (the area of Bizya?), whereas in the second (the putative decline of their power) by the preservation of those lands that were the very tribal core (around Bizya?), and possibly those lands in close proximity to it (Salmydessus?).

The limitation in this early period of Thracia Astica to Cape Thynias may also mean that the territorial core of the Astae was not in Strandja itself, or at least not in the territory of the whole mountain. The arguments for such a view are identical with those presented above: if one accepts that the Astae peopled the whole of Strandja, then it can be expected that the coast which extended along the mountain (to the north and to the south of Cape Thynias) would be under their control at the time of both their zenith (the end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC) and their putative decline (after 172 BC?).

The second piece of information is a problematic fragment of Strabo which describes Bizya as a capital of the Getae: Γετῶν δὲ βασίλειον ἦν Βιζύης.[24] Because of the location of Bizya and Stephanus of Byzantium's statement that it was the capital of the Astae,[25] it is usually accepted that Strabo actually had in mind the Astae (Ἀστῶν δὲ βασίλειον ἦν Βιζύης), not the Getae.[26] Unfortunately, the fragment is chronologically uncertain, which makes solving the problem under discussion difficult. The present study discusses below (***II.3.3***) the possibility that the fragment provides information about the period between the very end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC. If this is the case, F 20a will be strong evidence in support of the view that the tribal core of the Astae was to the south of Strandja, more precisely in the area of Bizya, and that after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom their expansion went from south to north.

II.2.3. Modern Views about the Early History of the Astae

If after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace the expansion of the Astae went from south to north then this is an indication that before that event their tribal core was to the south of Strandja. Does this mean, however, that in an earlier period they peopled the same lands and had control over Salmydessus? Scholars have different views about the history of the Astae before the defeat of the Celts in Thrace. There are three main views – migratory, toponymical, and autochthonous. In all of them, a key role is played by the possible connection between the name Astae and the Byzantine *chora* Astacus noted in a fragment, which belonged to Book 47 (the events from 340/39 BC) of Theopompus' *Philippika* (F 219) and which was quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium: Ἀστακός, πόλις Βιθυνίας . . . ἔστι καὶ χώρα Βυζαντίων, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ ἑβδόμῃ.

II.2.3.1. Migratory

According to the migratory view, at certain time the Astae left their native lands and settled in the territories where they were mentioned later by ancient authors – south-eastern Thrace. Such is Boshnakov's opinion, who believes that the Astae came from Asia. He dates their migration not earlier than 214/13 BC.[27] One of his arguments is the absence of the Astae from the sources describing earlier events in south-eastern Thrace. In his view, the connection Astacus–Astae is problematic. Moreover, he seeks to demonstrate that the Byzantine *chora* was situated in Asia,[28] which, if nothing else, at least eliminates one of the possible arguments for the presence of the Astae in Europe in 340/39 BC. If one follows Boshnakov, Xenophon's plunderers at Salmydessus were different from the Astae. The problem is that the Astae were not mentioned before 206–204 BC, not only in Europe but also in Asia, and that the Byzantine *chora* Astacus has not been localised. Moreover, one can expect that ancient authors would

[24] Strabo VII. F 20a (Radt 2003).

[25] St. Byz. Βιζύη, πόλις Θρᾴκης, τὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν βασίλειον.

[26] According to Boshnakov (2003: 311–313), this was not an ordinary mistake of the epitomist. He believes that the mistake was made before Strabo, and his source (Posidonius), because of an incorrect excerpt from Hdt. IV.95.3 – ἐς τὸν πανδοκεύοντα τῶν ἀστῶν τοὺς πρώτους.

[27] Boshnakov 2003: 189–197; 2004: 162–163; 2007: 136–155.

[28] See also Gabelko (1996: 123 and n. 10), who expresses doubts about the connection Astacus–Astae and also holds the opinion that Theopompus F 219 refers to the possessions of the Byzantines in Asia.

mention the probable migration of the Astae from Asia to Europe about 214/13 BC, as they did as far as the Aegosagae were concerned, who crossed over from Europe to Asia at approximately the same time.[29] Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of our sources describing the events from the very end of the 3rd century BC allows no conclusions in terms of the question under discussion.

It seems that this is the place to present another view, expressed by Kretschmer, who also speaks about the migration of the Astae, but in the reverse direction.[30] The key point in his hypothesis is the connection Astae–Astacus. In his view, the Bithyni, and a part of the Thyni and Astae, migrated from Europa to Asia in the 7th century BC, while the Astae and Thyni, who did not migrate, remained on the European coast of the Pontus. Kretschmer bases his arguments on Arrian's statement that Thracians crossed over to Asia and settled in Bithynia during the Cymerian devastation of Asia Minor,[31] as well as on the existence of two toponyms Astacus (= 'die astische'), one in Europa (the Byzantine *chora*) and another in Asia (the *polis* of Astacus). Obviously, according to Kretschmer, both toponyms received their names from the ethnonym Astae. The problem is that ancient authors mention nothing about Astae in Asia Minor, and, accordingly, that their probable migration is based only on the existence of two toponyms with one and the same name. This is a purely linguistic hypothesis, which seeks a solution to the question of the existence of the two identical toponymical names. To solve the problem Kretschmer goes back the emergence of the Astae in Europa in at least the 7th century BC, which, given the evidence of ancient authors, cannot be sustained.[32]

Finally, it is worth mentioning that in Miller's view the Astae were Celts,[33] i.e. if this is so, they settled in south-eastern Thrace only after 281 BC. In fact, Miller simply paraphrases Tomaschek, according to whom Penastii (= Pehastii), from *Tabula Peutingeriana*,[34] contained the name of the Thracian Astae, and that the former was a hybrid name which referred to those Celts who mixed with locals after the collapse of their kingdom in Thrace.[35] Nothing in particular can support the suggested Celtic or mixed origin of the Astae. The only possible argument is the late appearance of the Astae in sources and the fact that they were mentioned in south-eastern Thrace, i.e. where the Celtic kingdom was situated. This is hardly enough to allow us to accept such a view.

II.2.3.2. Toponymical Origin of the Name Astae

This is Alexander Fol's view.[36] He believes that the tribal name of the Astae had a toponymical origin and connects it with the Byzantine *chora* Astacus, which he localises in the very south-eastern angle of Thrace, before Byzantium. Fol points out that ancient authors rarely based their work on personal experience and assumes that the toponym Astacus was most probably wrongly related in the geographical

[29] Polyb. V.77.2, 78.1–6, 111.2.

[30] Kretschmer 1896: 211.

[31] FGrHist 156 F 60.

[32] Boshnakov (2007: 141–142) attacks another chronological aspect of Kretschmer's hypothesis. He points out that according to Memnon of Heracleia (BNJ 434 F 1.12.2) the Megarians found the *polis* of Astacus in 712/11 BC, which contradicts the chronology of Kretschmer's hypothesis and, more precisely, his statement that the Astae crossed over to Asia during the 7th century BC. Boshnakov also adds that Memnon's date obviously corresponded to a local Asiatic chronicle, which, apparently, is an attempt to strengthen the reliability of the date in question. In support of this dating, one can point to Eusebius' statement (*Chron.* – Helm 1913: 91) that Astacus was founded in 711/10 BC, as well as Strabo's (XII.4.2) and Mela's (I.100) that the *polis* was a Megarian colony. Yet, it should be noted that another, and earlier, Asiatic author – Charon of Lampsacus (5th century BC) – states that (BNJ 262 F 6) the *polis* of Astacus was founded by the Chalcedonians, i.e. after 685 BC, which is the date of the foundation of Chalcedon by Eusebius (*Chron.* – Helm 1913: 93).

[33] Miller 1916: col. 595 – 'Penastii, Piastae, ein Volk am Pontus (Herodian); Astae, ein keltischer Stamm, dessen Vorort Bizye (Steph Byz.)'.

[34] Miller 1916: col. 595 (VIII.4).

[35] Tomaschek 1867: 706.

[36] Fol 1975a: 87–88; 1980a: 25.

literature to a non-existent tribe. According to him Astae was a collective name of the people to the east of the Hebrus who gained some independence after the disintegration of the Odrysian kingdom. He thinks that the idea that Astae was a collective name of a group of tribes or tribal branches from the 2nd century BC onwards can find support in Strabo (F 20a), for whom the Astaean area had very movable boundaries. The fragment states that Bizya was a *basileion* of the Getae (= Astae?) and that some gave the name of Odrysae to all those people who lived above the seaboard, from the Hebrus and Cypsela as far as Odessus.[37] According to Fol, Strabo, who presents (in F 20a) earlier views on regional names, i.e. to the time of the Odrysian power over these lands, indirectly convinces us that the name of the Astae was not strongly connected to a certain tribe, but was provisional. Finally, in one of his later studies Fol states that the earliest reference to the tribal name of the Astae appeared in Theopompus' toponym, and that with them he noted a Byzantine *chora*,[38] i.e. Astacus.

From the point of view of the present study, if Fol's view is accepted then this makes Strabo's information about the Astae who plundered the castaways useless, since it turns out that under this name ancient authors may have noted each of the tribes situated near the Pontic coast between Thynias and the Cyaneae. For this reason, special attention should be paid to the question.

Fol's idea that the name Astae is toponymical has its grounds. There are many tribal names in Thrace which have similarities to toponymical names.[39] Perhaps some of these were formed as Fol believes, but in other cases, the process may have been reversed (from ethnonym to toponym). Finally, some ethnonyms and toponyms with similar names may have emerged independently of each other. To a certain extent, the appearance in the sources of Astacus first (340/39 BC), and more than 130 years later of the Astae (206–204 or 188 BC), is an argument in favour of Fol's hypothesis: the appearance of the tribal name of the Astae in Theopompus' toponym Astacus; and from the 2nd century BC onwards that Astae was a collective name of a group of tribes or tribal branches who peopled the lands to the east of the Hebrus.

However, Fol's view seems difficult to substantiate. Why did the author who invented the name Astae choose to use it only for the people in close proximity to the Byzantine *chora* Astacus and not for all those living in the hinterland of the Asiatic *polis* Astacus? And why did not the author, who, sometime after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace, hypothetically extended the meaning of the name Astae from Salmydessus as far as Cabyle (and Mesambria?), include in it the Caeni, who can be safely localised to the east of the Hebrus, as well as the Maduateni and the Coreli/Cornelii, who, albeit difficult to identify and localise,[40] certainly peopled neighbouring areas? Livy describes them as people different

[37] Strabo VII. F 20a (Radt 2003) – Γετῶν δὲ βασίλειον ἦν Βιζύης. Ὀδρύσας δὲ καλοῦσιν ἔνιοι πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἕβρου καὶ Κυψέλων μέχρι Ὀδησσοῦ τῆς παραλίας ὑπεροικοῦντας . . .

[38] Fol, Spiridonov 1983: 122.

[39] For example, Agrianes (Thuc. II.96.3; Hdt. V.16.1) and the River Agrianes (Hdt. IV.90.2); Artacoi (St. Byz. Ἀρτακοί) and the River Artones (Ps.-Scyl. 92.1 – Shipley); Bistones (Hdt. VII.110.1) on one side and the Bistonian Lake (Hdt. VII.109.1) and the *polis* of Biston (St. Byz. Βιστονία) on the other; Doberes (Hdt. V.16.1; VII.113.1) and the *polis* of Doberus in Paeonia (Thuc. II.98.2); Coilaletae (Tac. *Ann.* III.38) and the *polis* of Coila (Ptol. III.11.9 – Müller 1883); Crestones (Hdt. V.3.2) and the *polis* of Creston (Hdt. I.57.1); Melanditae (Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.32) and the country of Melandia (St. Byz. Μελανδία); Nestians (Paus. I.10.2) and the River Nestus (Hdt. VII.109.1); Nipsaei (Hdt. IV.93.1) and the *polis* of Nipsa (St. Byz. Νίψα); Peucini (Strabo VII.3.17) and the island of Peuce (Arr. *Anab.* I.2.3); Orbelians (Polyaen IV.2.16) and Mt Orbelus (Hdt. V.16.2); Siri (St. Byz. Σίρες) on one side and the Paeonian *polis* of Siris (Hdt. VIII.115.3) and Sira *polis* in Thrace (St. Byz. Σίρρα = BNJ 115 F 125) on the other; Scombroi (Hesych. Σκόμβροι) and Mt Scombrus (Thuc. II.96.3); Strymonians (Hdt. VII.75.2) and the River Strymon (Hdt. VII.24.1); Thyni (Hdt. I.28.1) on one side and Cape Thynias (Ps.-Scymn. 728), the settlement of Thynias (Pliny *NH* IV.45), and the island of Thynias (St. Byz. Θυνιάς) on the other.

[40] Different suppositions have been expressed as to who the Maduateni and Coreli/Cornelii noted by Livy were, and which lands they peopled. For that issue, see the discussion by Tomaschek 1893: 70; Delev 2010: 101; Petkov 2012: 50; Boteva-Boyanova 2014: 75–84; Boteva 2017: 121–124. In one of his earlier works, Tomaschek (1867: 698) ascribes to the Maduateni a Celtic origin 'Die Maduateni scheinen dem Namen zufolge keltischer Herkunft gewesen zu sein'.

from the Astae: 'ex quattuor populis Astii et Caeni et Maduateni et Coreli/Corneli'. Moreover, if one accepts that the Astae were mentioned by Polybius in Book 13 (the events of 206–204 BC) of his *Histories*, then their appearance in the sources preceded that of the Caeni, Maduateni, and Coreli/Cornelii (even if Coreli equated to Corpilae), noted for the first time in Livy's passage under discussion. Therefore, it cannot be claimed that the three ethnonyms were older and more established than the name Astae, and for this reason they were not replaced by it. The inference is also valid if one accepts the view expressed above that the reference to the Astae in Book 13 of Polybius' *Histories* is uncertain and that the first undisputed evidence of them appears in Livy's report about the Thracian attack against Vulso.

A further important point should be noted. The Mesambrian decree (the first half of the 2nd century BC) discussed above mentions a man described as Astaean: Δε . . (.) της Δηζου Ἀστὰς. This may mean two things: either that at that time the Mesambrians had already accepted the name Astae, artificially established by a Greek author, and for this reason they preferred to described the man they honoured as an Astaean, irrespective of his actual origin; or that Δε . . (.) της described himself as Astaean and for this reason he was inscribed as such. The first seems unlikely; as has already been noted above, if Astae had a toponymical origin, its large extension (artificially!) as a name of a heterogeneous group of people occupying the lands from Salmydessus as far as Cabyle (and Mesambria?) could only be done by an Hellenistic author in connection with the events after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace (218–211 BC). A period of 30–40 years (from 218–211 BC to the Mesambrian decree) seems too short for the Mesambrians, who lived in Thrace, to adopt the name Astae, which was established (artificially!) by an author who probably worked in one of the large literary centres.[41] It is quite possible that we are dealing with daily communication between the Mesambrians and local, as well as more distant, Thracians who, for one reason or another, established contacts with the *polis*. And since it is obvious that the Mesambrians themselves did not establish the name Astae, and that some ancient author could not extend it and connect it with the population to the north of Strandja before the collapse of the Celtic kingdom in Thrace, one may conclude that most probably Astae was a self-designation. This conclusion can be indirectly supported if it is accepted that, in 172 BC, Astaean envoys arrived at Rome and that they, as one might expect, were recorded by the name they presented themselves with before the Senate. Unfortunately, as noted above, the passage is corrupt and the restoration of the name Astae remains problematic.

Livy's other evidence is also important – his description of the attack of the four Thracian tribes against Vulso. The account is very detailed and leaves the reader with the impression that it came from the pen of an eyewitness. Most probably, this was an official report from the headquarters of the Roman army

[41] In certain circumstances, an artificially established ethnonym could gain fast and wide popularity, e.g. during campaigns in remote and unknown lands when the locals, for one reason or another, were given by the conquerors a name that differed from their self-designation. However, this was not the case with the Astae and the Mesambrians.

used by Livy's source.[42] If the primary source of this account was really Vulso's report,[43] this supports the view that the name Astae was not toponymical. It is highly unlikely that the Roman commander was well acquainted with the artificially established ethnonym Astae from a certain Greek author and that he used it properly (in accordance with the view of this author) only for some of the Thracians who attacked him. Here, too, we are rather dealing with a self-designation that became known to Vulso during his unfortunate contact with the Astae.

Thus, from what has been said it may be concluded that Astae had no toponymical origin and that it was not a collective ethnonym for the heterogeneous population to the east of the Hebrus. Therefore, the extension of the ethnonym was not artificial. Most probably, it simply reflected the expansion of the Astae and, accordingly, was used for the lands they ruled.

II.2.3.3. Autochthonous

The third and last view can be provisionally called autochthonous, in so far as it does not support a late migration of the Astae but describes them as an existing tribe that inhabited south-eastern Thrace, at least since the time of Xenophon's stay there.

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[42] See also Danov (1947: 11) who believes that Livy's source was Polybius. An official report of Vulso's deeds certainly existed. According to Livy (XXXVIII.44.9–10), Vulso enumerated before the Senate his exploits with the hope that they would allow him to celebrate a triumph. The legates who served under his command were against this request. They exposed his illegal actions in Asia and the defeat in Thrace (Liv. XXXVIII.44.11–46.9). In his defensive speech, Vulso (XXXVIII.49.7–10) pointed out that the unfavourable terrain was one of the reasons for the defeat. The speeches may have been invented by Livy, or rather (XXXVIII.47.1 – Manlium in hunc maxime modum respondisse accepi) by his source (Polybius or Quadrigarius), but an official report, which explained the reasons for the loss of the loot as a result of the defeat by the Thracians in the narrow places near Cypsela, must have existed. The report must have explained the reason for the defeat (unfavourable terrain), which may mean that it also described the march of the army, at least from Cypsela to the narrow places where the battle was fought. If this is so, it must have also provided information on the enemies of the Romans, namely the four Thracian tribes. Contra Boteva-Boyanova 2014: 72–75. She believes that Livy's source was Polybius, but at the same time reaches the conclusion that, as far as the geographical context of Vulso's march is concerned, Polybius did not use the official report of the Roman commander, but the description available to him of Lucius Scipio's march through Thrace on his way to Asia. Two things allow the latter scholar to reach this conclusion. First, the absence, in her view, of a geographical sequence in Livy XXXVIII.41.4, where we are told that the Roman army reached the Hebrus first and then crossed the frontiers of the Aenians (Aenus was situated to the east of the river), i.e. in Boteva's view Polybius' source described the march of an army from west to east. Second, the incorrect, according to her, statement (Liv. XXXVIII.40.6–7) that after Cypsela the road towards the Hebrus passed through narrow and rough terrain, which Livy (XXXVIII.40.7, 11, 41.1, 3) describes as *saltus*. In the second case, she bases her arguments on her personal observations, according to which today's terrain to the west of Cypsela is smooth, while only that to the east of the city matches Livy's description, i.e. in this case, too, Polybius' source describes the march of an army from west to east. Two arguments can be advanced against this view. First, the frontiers of the Aenian *chora* are unknown. It is true that Pseudo-Scylax (Ps.-Scyl. 67.3 – Shipley) mentions fortresses of the Aenians only to the east of the Hebrus, but the possibility that at some time the Aenian *chora* stretched along both banks of the river should not be rejected out of hand (see also Weissenborn 1873: 345 note on XXXVIII.41.4). Second, if Polybius' source for the geographical aspect of Vulso's march actually described Scipio's march towards Asia, then the information on the clash between Vulso and the four Thracian tribes must have obviously been obtained from another source. This, again, points towards Vulso's official report, which, as noted above, must have described the march of the army at least from Cypsela to the narrow places where the battle was fought. Moreover, perhaps the report furnished information on the difficulties the Romans encountered to the west of the Hebrus, since they successfully overcame them (this was in favour of Vulso), and, accordingly, also on the march of the Roman army as far as Macedonia. If this is the case, then why was it necessary for Polybius to obtain information on the battle against the four Thracian tribes from Vulso's report (Boteva excludes the possibility that Polybius worked on firsthand evidence), while on his march from Cypsela to the narrow places where the battle was fought, from another source which had nothing to do with the event under discussion?

[43] According to Tomaschitz (2002: 146, n. 577), Polybius personally participated in the events he described. This view faces some problems that are difficult to solve. First, one should accept that Polybius was born *c.* 208, which contradicts the combined information from Polyb. III.39.8 and Ps.-Luc. *Macr.* 22; second, even if it is accepted that Polybius was born *c.* 208 BC, and that, as Mommsen (1881: 449) believes, he participated in Vulso's campaign in Asia, this does not necessarily mean that he accompanied the Roman commander in Thrace. As for the endless debate over Polybius' birthdate, see Eckstein 1992 where some earlier opinions are presented.

II.2.3.3.1. Danov's View

The most prominent supporter of the autochthonous hypothesis is Danov. According to him the Astae were a separate tribe with their own dynastic line[44] that was not mentioned by Xenophon, since at the time of his stay in south-eastern Thrace (400/399 BC) the Astaean rulers had an insignificant influence and controlled only Bizya and its surroundings. Danov recognises three phases of the rise of the Astae: after the decline of the Odrysian kingdom following the offensive of Philip II (342/341 BC); after Lysimachus' death (281 BC); and after the decline of Celtic power in Thrace.[45] Danov points out that, roughly from the beginning of the 180s BC, references to the Astae and the Ordysae fade away in favour of those to the Caeni, but he offers no explanation for this.[46] As for the late history of the Astae, he reaches the conclusion that the Thracian dynasty residing in Bizya, well known from the sources, was Astaean and that its members were direct descendants of the Astaean rulers from 3rd/2nd century BC.[47] Lastly, basing his arguments on the existence of the *strategia* Ἀστική noted in inscriptions, and in Ptolemy's *Geography*,[48] he assumes that even in Roman times the Astae were one of the most significant tribes on the western Pontic coast to the south of Apollonia as far as Byzantium.[49]

II.2.3.3.1.1. First Pillar of Danov's Hypothesis: Theopompus of Chios (F 219)

Danov's view on the early history of the Astae is based on two pillars. The first is the fragment of Theopompus (preserved by Stephanus of Byzantium), discussed above, which mentions the Byzantine *chora* Astacus:

> St. Byz. Ἀστακός, πόλις Βιθυνίας … ἔστι καὶ χώρα Βυζαντίων, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ ἑβδόμῃ.

In one of his later studies, Danov states that this was the first evidence of the Astae in the sources.[50] It is obvious, however, that Theopompus did not mention them, but simply the toponym Astacus.[51] Yet one cannot deny that, from a linguistic point of view, the connection Astae–Astacus seems possible. Perhaps, this was the reason why Meineke proposes the following emendation: καὶ Ἀστική χώρα Βυζαντίων as well as a transfer of the emended text to the previous *lemma*, which is devoted to the Astae.[52] Some scholars accept the emendation,[53] others assume that Astacus means Astaean,[54] and still others simply hold the opinion that Astacus cannot be separated from Astae.[55] All this, along with the supposed geographical proximity of the Astae to the Byzantine *chora*, allows one to date back the emergence of the Astae on the historical scene at least to the events from 340/339 BC, which were described in Book 47 of Theopompus' *Philipika*.

But here, too, the two problems discussed above in connection with Fol's hypothesis are still valid. First, the Byzantine *chora* Astacus has not been localised. Yet, if one accepts that it was in Europe, it was hardly situated on the Pontic coast between the Cyaneae and Cape Thynias. Ps.-Scymnus, whose source was

[44] Danov 1952: 150, n. 3.
[45] Danov 1952: 126, 129, 136–137. See also Danoff 1964: col. 657.58–658.4.
[46] Danov 1952: 147.
[47] Danov 1952: 129, 150. See also Danoff 1964: col. 658.4–6; Danov 1979: 121, 123.
[48] See n. 119.
[49] Danov 1952: 155.
[50] Danov 1968: 148–149. Followed by Marcotte 2000: 236, note on vv. 728–729.
[51] See also Fol's critique (1975a: 87).
[52] Meineke 1849: 137, app. crit. 16.
[53] Tomaschek 1893: 85; Gabrielsen 2007: 323, n. 83. See also Billerbeck 2006: 288 (496–497) and app. crit. 289, n. 670.
[54] Kretschmer 1896: 211.
[55] Jokl 1929: 282.

probably Demetrius of Callatis,[56] states that after the mouth of the Pontus there was the Byzantine *chora* Philia (at Cape Caraburun),[57] not Astacus, and that after Philia came the coast of Salmydessus.[58] It is true that this situation probably reflected reality from the very end of the 3rd and the first half of the 2nd century BC, and, accordingly, may not have been valid for 340/339 BC. However, it seems highly unlikely that in the middle of the 4th century BC the Byzantines had on the Pontic coast a *chora* named Astacus, while 150 years later, when the Astae were at their peak (or a bit later), they had in the same area a *chora* bearing a different name, namely Philia. Second, despite the views expressed by scholars, the connection Astae-Astacus remains uncertain. As has become clear above, the name Astae was probably not derived from the toponym and the probability that the two toponyms Astacus were derived from two groups of Astae (European and Asiatic) is insignificant. It remains the possibility that the name of the Byzantine *chora* (if it was in Europe) was derived from the Astae, while the Asiatic *polis* received its name completely independently, which, given the early date of its foundation, seems highly probable. However, in the absence of any evidence of the Astae before 206–204 BC the reconstruction remains problematic.

II.2.3.3.1.2. Second Pillar of Danov's Hypothesis: The Inscription from Mesambria (IGBulg I² 307)

The second pillar of Danov's hypothesis is an epigraphic inscription from Mesambria, first published and discussed by Galabov[59] and included later in Mihailov's corpus.[60] According to the inscription, the Mesambrians decided: to express commendation to Sadalas (reconstructed by Danov); to crown him with a golden chaplet in the theatre during the feast of Dionysius, since he was an *euergetes* of the *polis*; to grant him and his descendants Mesambrian citizenship and *proxenia*, and to give them a place of honour during the contests; to give him the right to sail into and exit the harbour without being plundered and without contract; to crown him annually with a chaplet valued at 50 staters; to inscribe the oath and the agreement on a stone stele; to place the stele in the temple of Apollo by the steles of Sadala's ancestors Mopsyestius, Tarutin, Medista, and Cotys. The inscription continues with an agreement between Sadalas and the Mesambrians on sailors wrecked on Sadala's coast. Unfortunately, after that the text breaks off and one can only guess at the last lines.

Danov dates the inscription from the middle, or rather the second half, of the 3rd century BC.[61] He believes that Sadalas and his ancestors were Astaean *basileis*,[62] and explains the absence of this title in the inscription with the possibility that the Astean rulers were well-known to the Mesambrians and for this reason mentioning their title was unnecessary, or that it was inscribed at the beginning of the inscription, which has not survived. According to Danov, there are plausible grounds to support the view that an early Astaean kingdom existed: i.e. Astaean activity at the end of the 3rd, beginning of the 2nd century BC; the absence of the name Sadalas from royal Odrysian names of the 4th/3rd century BC; and the existence of a late Astaean kingdom whose capital was Bizya. Danov also assumes that Sadalas' father was Cotys, and that Mopsyestius ruled during the time of Philip II.[63]

[56] Boshnakov 2004: 154–156; 2007: 130–132; Vasilev 2019: 275.

[57] For a localisation at Cape Caraburun, see Oberhummer 1938: col. 2131.58–62; Venedikov 1982: 46–47, 51 map 6; Boshnakov 2004: 154; 2007: 130–131; Giuzelev 2009: 157; Korenjak 2013: note on vv. 722f; Vasilev 2019: 269–271. Contra Porozhanov 2012: 216–217 who localises Philia closer to the Bosporus, at Kumköy, where, in his view, there exists a convenient gulf and the toponym has survived as Kilios.

[58] Ps.-Scymn. 722–724.

[59] Galabov 1950.

[60] IGBulg I² 307. See Appendix.

[61] Danov 1952: 110–118; 1979: 50, 74. Followed by Fol 1975a: 118–119. See also Bengtson 1962: 26 – 'Nichts hindert, an eine etwas spätere Zeit, an die Mitte des 3. Jh.s, zu denken'.

[62] According to Robu (2014: 25), the Astaean origins of Sadalas does not contradict sources.

[63] Danov 1952: 125–126, 129–130, 150–151. See also Danov 1979: 49–50, 74–75.

Danov's hypothesis has been much criticised. Some scholars question the proposed dating and put the inscription as not very far from the end of the 4th century BC,[64] in the first half of the 3rd century BC,[65] between 280 and 270 BC,[66] or between 281 and 277 BC.[67] The Astaean origin of the dynasty has been rejected, as it is usually accepted closer or more distant kinship with the Odrysian kings partly because of the names Cotys and Medista.[68] The very existence of the Astaean kingdom has also been rejected.[69] The present study cannot comment on all these problems in depth. What is important is that the name Astae is absent from the inscription and that the Astaean origin of Sadalas and his ancestors cannot be confirmed. In support of this conclusion is the dating proposed by scholars of the beginning of Sadalas' dynasty, which varies greatly from the middle of the 5th to the end of the 4th century BC.[70] Taking into consideration that, according to the inscription, Sadalas' first ancestor had already established relations with Mesambria similar to those of Sadalas, and that the tribal core of the Astae was probably to the south of Strandja, it seems highly unlikely (even if one accepts the latest dating for the beginning of the local dynasty – after 313 BC) that about 300 BC the first ruler spread his power from the area of Bizya to Mesambria.[71] Therefore, the dynasty was not Astaean.

Another variant is also possible, namely that at some time the last known dynast – Sadalas, although not Astaean, spread his power to the south of Strandja and, accordingly, placed under his control the Astae occupying the area of Bizya. Given the proposed datings of the inscription, such territorial spread was possible only after Lysimachus' death (281 BC), or after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom (218–211 BC). In the first case, his power in that area would be eliminated by the Celts, while in the second by the Astae themselves, who were at their peak at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century BC. Such reconstruction can be based only on the existence in the inscription of a point that concerned the Mesambrians who would wreck on Sadalas' coast, which reminds about the bad reputation of Salmydessus. Danov noticed the possible connection between this point in the inscription and the coast in question, accepting it as proof that Sadalas' kingdom (= the Astaean kingdom) spread from Apollonia to the Bosporus.[72] However, even Danov cautiously dates the inscription to the middle, or more probably to the second half of the 3rd century BC,[73] which, to some extent, eliminates the possibility of Sadalas' expansion to the south of Strandja after 218–211 BC, and an earlier date of Sadalas' incursion (after 281 BC) would be too distant from the earliest evidence of the Astae. Moreover, the plunder of wrecks should not just be connected with Salmydessus. It seems that because of unfavourable navigation conditions, the concentration of incidents at Salmydessus was higher, which inevitably found a resonance in the works of ancient authors, but, undoubtedly, the plunder of the castaways also happened at other places on the Western Pontic coast, no matter whether there were[74] shoals there or not.[75] From what has been

[64] Galabov 1950: 12–16. Followed by Boshnakov 2004: 190, n. 903; 2007: 178, n. 1040 and Porozhanov 2011a: 230–231.

[65] Castelli 2015: 98.

[66] Beshevliev 1965: 7.

[67] Mihailov 1955: 163.

[68] Galabov 1950: 16–17; Mihailov 1955: 163; Fol 1975a: 118; Boshnakov 2003: 190–191; 2004: 190; 2007: 139, 178; Porozhanov 2011a: 229–230. In one of his earlier studies, Fol (1972: 136) assumes that the dynasty could be either Odrysian or Astaean.

[69] Mihailov 1955: 161–162; Petkov (forthcoming).

[70] Porozhanov (2011a: 230) – 5th century BC; Danov (1952: 130) – during the time of Philip II; Fol (1975a: 118–119) – after 313 BC.

[71] See also Mihailov 1955: 161.

[72] Danov 1952: 134.

[73] Danov 1952: 110 – 'откъм средата и по-вероятно от втората половина на III столетие' ('from the middle or more probably the second half of the 3rd century BC'). See also Danov 1952: 119, 122–123, 130.

[74] Strabo (I.3.4) notes the existence of shoals not only at Salmydessus, but also at the Istrus delta and the desert of Scythia – καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἤδη τεναγίζειν τὰ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Πόντου, τόν τε Σαλμυδησσὸν καὶ τὰ καλούμενα Στήθη ὑπὸ τῶν ναυτικῶν τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἴστρον καὶ τὴν Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν. For shoals at the Istrus delta, see also Polyb. IV.41.1–2.

[75] Such practices on the Bythynian coast are mentioned in Xenophon's *Anabasis* (VI.4.2), and in an inscription containing an inscribed message from the Bithynian king Ziaelas to the council and assembly of the island of Cos. The king promised to protect Greeks wrecked at places under his control (Rigsby 1996: 118–120, no. 11). The evidence is noted and discussed by Danov (1952: 132–133, 136) and by Boshnakov (2007: 139) who criticises him. See also Mainardi 2011: 16–17. See, however,

said so far, it can be concluded that the origin of Sadalas and his ancestors was not Astaean, and that they never had control over territories to the south of Strandja, or at least not during the period after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom, when the Astae were first mentioned.[76]

II.2.3.3.2. Vinogradov's and Avram's Views: The Astae as a Political Factor in the Middle of the 3rd Century BC (IGBulg^2 388)

The views of Vinogradov and Avram are based on their reconstructions of a fragmentary inscription that was an Apollonian decree,[77] whose original was issued either by Mesambria,[78] or by Callatis.[79] It is usually accepted that the inscription mentions an alliance between the *polis* and a Seleucid king named Antiochus. Most scholars date the inscription from the middle of the 3rd century BC, connecting it with Antiochus II Theos,[80] who, at some time in the period 260–250 BC, may have launched a military campaign into Thrace.[81] According to Vinogradov's reconstruction, published by Avram, the inscription mentions two times the Astae, against whom Antiochus and the *polis* entered into alliance: [. . . περὶ τᾶς ἐ]π' Ἀστὰς ἐπιμα[χίας . . .] and [. . . βασιλέος Ἀν]τιόχου ἐπ' Ἀ[στὰς . . .].[82] Avram himself proposes: [ὑπὸ βασιλέος Ἀν]τιόχου ἐπ' Ἀ[στικῆς].[83] On this basis he concludes: 'elle est en état de confirmer l'engagement d'Antiochos II en Thrace, entre autres contre les Astes'.[84] It should be noted, however, that there is also another reconstruction of these lines: . . .]. ας τᾶς ἐπιμα[χίας . . .] and . . . Ἀν]τιόχου ἐπ' Ἀ[πολλωνιάταις . . . [85] and that, according to Mihailov, the inscription refers to an alliance against the Celts.[86] Moreover, Danov, who also believes that the Astae were mentioned, connects the inscription with Antiochus III and more precisely with the events from 196/95 or 194 BC,[87] which was at the time of the Astaean peak. The inscription is too fragmentary, which does not allow its fully fledged use as a source for the early history of the Astae.[88] It cannot serve as evidence of the existence of a powerful Astaean kingdom in the middle of 3rd century BC.

II.2.3.3.3. Stronk's View

Stronk's view can be also considered autochthonous. In his earlier study, he states that, at least from the 5th century BC onwards, the Thracians of Salmydessus mentioned in the sources were Astae.[89] In his later study, he cautiously identifies the Astae with the Thyni,[90] the latter of whom gradually may

FGrHist 90 F 113 – Θῦνοι τοὺς ναυαγοὺς φιλανθρώπως δεχόμενοι φίλους ποιοῦνται· τῶν δὲ ξένων τοὺς μὲν ἀκουσίως ἐλθόντας σφόδρα τιμῶσιν, τοὺς δ' ἑκουσίως κολάζουσιν. As is clear from Herodotus (IV.103.1), castaways were also in great danger on the Northern Pontic coast too.

[76] See also Castelli (2015: 95–97) who localises the lands mentioned in the inscription to the north of Mesambria, at today's Obzor.

[77] IGBulg^2 388. See Appendix.

[78] Danov 1952: 140–141; Blavatskaya 1952: 109, n. 2; Bengtson 1962: 28; IGBulg^2 388, 350; Danov 1979: 81–83; Avram 2003: 1192–1193; Castelli 2015: 89 – 'Mésambria (ou moins probablement Callatis)'.

[79] Vinogradov by Avram 2003: 1189–1190. Robu (2014: 25) also assumes such a possibility.

[80] IGBulg^2 388, 350; Avram 2003: 1190–1193; Castelli 2015: 89.

[81] Polyaen IV.16. Beloch (1925: 672, n. 4) points out that the *strategema* may also refer to Antiochus Hierax. Even if this is so, Antiochus II's influence in south-eastern Thrace seems indisputable. It is confirmed by the circulation of his coins as far as Cabyle (Draganov 1993: 57–68, Plates XXXIII–XXXIV, XXXV (758–777), XXXVI (814–832, 842–844), XXXVII–XXXIX).

[82] Avram 2003: 1190, lines 2–5.

[83] Avram 2003: 1192.

[84] Avram 2003: 1193. Followed by Robu 2014: 21–22, 25 and Castelli 2015: 89.

[85] IGBulg^2 388, lines 2–5.

[86] IGBulg^2 388, 350. Followed by Blavatskaya 1952: 109.

[87] Danov 1952: 140–146; 1979: 82–83. See also Bengtson 1962: 28.

[88] See also Welles' remark (1950: 136) on Mihailov's reconstruction, which is no doubt valid for the other reconstructions of the inscription: 'There is perhaps too little preserved to support the editor's restorations'.

[89] Stronk 1986–1987: 64–65.

[90] Stronk 1995: 244.

have lost, in his view, their power since Teres' time.[91] His only argument is the geographical overlap of a part of the territories occupied by the two ethnonyms during two different chronological periods. Unfortunately, he does not deem it necessary to explain (for example as Fol does) the genesis of the process – when, how and for what reason the tribal ethnonym Thyni was substituted for Astae. In fact, here, a well-constructed hypothesis is absent. The partial overlap of the lands peopled by the two tribes in two different periods is not sufficient argument for identification of Thyni with Astae.

II.2.3.3.4. Venedikov's View

Venedikov identifies the Astae with Xenophon's Melinophagoi, and the Melinophagoi with Herodotus' Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei.[92] The question whether the Melinophagoi can be identified with the Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei as well as with tribes mentioned by Xenophon is discussed below (III.1.8.2.1 and III.1.8.3.1). As for the identification of the Astae with the Melinophagoi, Venedikov presents two arguments: the territory peopled by the Astae and the Melinophagoi overlapped; and the Thracians who plundered the castaways were described as Melinophagoi (Xenophon), and Astae (Strabo). Thus, these were one and the same Thracians, who peopled one and the same lands and had one and the same occupation, but in different periods they were known under different names.

The present study concludes below (***III.1.3***) that when Xenophon speaks about the Thracians at Salmydessus he does not have in mind the Melinophagoi. If this is correct, then the second of Venedikov's arguments should be rejected. So, only the geographical argument remains, but, in this case, too, the overlap is not sufficient. In fact, Melinophagoi means 'millet eaters', i.e. people who consume millet. Obviously, this was not a tribal name. Therefore, these people may have been part of one, or even several, of the tribes mentioned by Xenophon. The Astae, however, emerged about 200 years later and their connection with this population remains chimerical.

II.2.4. Conclusions about the Lower Chronological Limit

From what has been said so far about the Astae, one can reach the following important conclusions in terms of the present study: the name Astae had no toponymical origin; it was probably a self-designation; the Astae were a separate tribe;[93] during the last decade of the 3rd and the first two or three decades of the 2nd century BC the Astae were at their peak; evidence of the Astae before 188 BC, or before 206–204 BC is absent; at the end of the 3rd and during the first half of the 2nd century BC the Astae controlled Salmydessus, or at least its northern part; before the collapse of the Celtic kingdom in south-eastern Thrace the Astae had no major political influence and their territory was limited only to the area of Bizya and its surroundings; it is not clear whether during this period they were subjects to the Celts and if this were so what was their status; it is unclear whether before the arrival of the Celts (280 BC) the Astae occupied the area of Bizya, or if they came there under the pressure of the Celts, this pressure perhaps causing some displacement of tribes living in south-eastern Thrace.

How do these conclusions relate then to the question of the chronological framework of Astaean control over Salmydessus? A conclusion has been reached above that during their peak the Astae controlled the coast under discussion. Is this conclusion also valid for the period before the collapse of the Celtic kingdom (218–211 BC), and even for the time of Xenophon's description (400/399 BC)? To answer this it is necessary to investigate the last sentence of Strabo's report on the plunderers at Salmydessus: πρὸς ὃν οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν διαρπάζονται τῶν ὑπερκειμένων, Θρᾳκίου ἔθνους. Strabo states that

[91] Stronk 1995: 185–186.
[92] Venedikov 1982: 48, 59, 62.
[93] According to Dobruski (1897: 561) the Astae were one of the main branches of the Odrysian tribe.

Figure 7: The modern road Vize–Kiyiköy.
(photo: author).

the castaways were plundered by the Astae who lived above Salmydessus. Obviously, he, or his source (Artemidorus of Ephesus), does not consider them locals. They were, rather, newcomers who at some time established control over the coast. Their lands (the tribal core) can be safely localised at Bizya and its surroundings, since Bizya was described as a *basileion* of the Astae and was situated only *c.* 40 km from the settlement at Salmydessus. This, along with the fact that the road passes through the hilly southeast branches of Strandja (**Figure 7**), can be easily connected with Strabo's expression τῶν ὑπερκειμένων, which reflected the view of the sailors along the coast. Given the conclusion reached above, that before the collapse of the Celtic kingdom the Astae had insignificant influence on the processes in south-eastern Thrace, it can be assumed that they placed Salmydessus under their control only after 218–211 BC,[94] or if one accepts an earlier date (because of the proximity of Bizya to Salmydessus), it cannot be extended beyond the 3rd century BC, and would certainly be after Lysimachus' death (281 BC). Therefore, the Thracians who dwelled on the Salmydessian coast and plundered the castaways during Xenophon's time were not Astae.

[94] At first glance, in support of this view one can point to a fragment of Book 8 of Polybius' *Histories* (Polyb. VIII.22.1–2 – Büttner-Wobst), which states that Cavarus gave the merchants sailing into the Pontus great protection – Ὅτι Καύαρος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἐν τῇ Θράκῃ Γαλατῶν βασιλικὸς ὑπάρχων τῇ φύσει καὶ μεγαλόφρων, πολλὴν μὲν ἀσφάλειαν παρεσκεύαζε τοῖς προσπλέουσι τῶν ἐμπόρων εἰς τὸν Πόντον, μεγάλας δὲ παρείχετο χρείας τοῖς Βυζαντίοις ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς Θρᾷκας καὶ Βιθυνοὺς πολέμοις. The fact that Cavarus' political influence stretched from Byzantium to Cabyle, and that merchants sailing into the Pontus were involved, allows one to connect the fragment, with a degree of security, to the Salmydessian coast, i.e. it is possible that at some time this Celtic king placed under his control Salmydessus and put an end to piratical activity in this part of the Pontus. For purely geographical reasons, control over Salmydessus meant also control over the area of Bizya, and, accordingly, over the entire tribe of the Astae. That being so, the piratical activity of the Astae at Salmydessus should be related to the time after the collapse of the Celtic kingdom. However, the evidence should rather be connected to the decision of the Byzantines to levy dues upon ships sailing into the Pontus and to Cavarus' intermediary role during the resolution of the conflict between Byzantium, Rhodes, and the Bithynian king Prusias I (Polyb. IV.38.1–3, 6–7, 46.1–47.1, 50.1–3, 52.1–5). Therefore, the fragment cannot serve as evidence of possible Celtic control over Salmydessus during Cavarus' rule.

II.3. Upper Chronological Limit of the Astaean Presence at Salmydessus

The question about the upper chronological limit of Astaean control over Salmydessus is no less difficult to solve. A date of *c.* AD 25 was given at the beginning of this present research, as the final draft of Strabo's *Geographica* was not published before AD 23. This date is too provisional and is based only on the view that in the works known to Strabo, and published after Artemidorus' *Geographumena* (Strabo's source for VII.6.1.), there was no information about piratical activity at Salmydessus committed by a tribe other than the Astae, i.e. according to Strabo the Astae continued to plunder the castaways even in his own time. For this reason, it is necessary to analyse the references to the Astae after 172 BC, so that one can decide whether they continued their piratical activity in later times. The references in question are very scarce, as ascribing Astaean origin to one or other Thracian dynast ruling during the first half, or the middle, of the 2nd century BC remains hypothetical.[95] The reason for the decline of the Astae is unknown. It may have been caused by the rise of the Odrysae by Cotys (first mention in 171 BC) or his father Seuthes,[96] or the rise of the Caeni by Diegylis (first mention *c.* 150 BC) and Zibelmius.[97] Whatever the reason, the name of the Astae was not noted in references to the events from the second half of the 2nd century BC.

II.3.1. The Connection Strabo–Artemidorus–Polybius

The Astae appear next in our sources in Artemidorus of Ephesus (*c.* 104–100 BC). The reference is quoted in the epitome of Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnika*:

> St. Byz. Ἀσταί, ἔθνος Θρᾴκης. Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τῶν ἕνδεκα. τὸ κτητικὸν Ἀστικός καὶ Ἀστική.

Probably, the initial information on the Astae in Artemidorus' *Geographumena* was far more detailed and it was at least equal in size to Strabo's report on Salmydessus. It is possible that this putative description of the Astaean lands was shortened three times – once by Artemidorus himself in the epitome of his *Geographumena*, a second time by Stephanus of Byzantium, and a third by the epitomist of Stephanus' *Ethnika*. Thus, we have only the empty *lemma* Ἀσταί, in which the most important information for the present study is the statement that Artemidorus mentioned the Astae. But if one accepts that Strabo's source for his report on Salmydessus (VII.6.1) was Artemidorus then this considerably changes the situation. In this case, it is important to find Artemidorus' source. There is no evidence that he knew the Pontus firsthand, which may suggest two things: either he obtained his information on the Astae

[95] Amadocus (Todorov 1998: 24–27), Bizes (Todorov 1998: 33–34), Autlesbis (Delev 2017: 46; 2018: 193 – ruler of the Astae or Caeni), and Teres (Delev 2017: 47; 2018: 194).

[96] Polyb. XXVII.12.1–3; XXX.17.1–4; Livy XLII.29.12, 51.10; XLV.42.5–12. According to Fol (1975a: 121), at that time the starting positions of Cotys were sites along the Tonzos River, and after the decline of Macedonian power along the Hebrus, too. Petkov (forthcoming) holds the opinion that after the Third Macedonian War Cotys, the son of Seuthes, placed under his control Bizye, which subsequently fell under the power of the Cenaean king Diegylis, together with the remaining Odrysian lands. Kabaktchiev (2000: 137–138) believes that the Cotys in question was succeeded by Teres, who crowned Andriscus. He assumes that the ceremony was conducted in Bizya, which was one of the residences of the Odrysian kings, i.e. if this view is followed, then *c.* 149/148 BC the Astae were no longer a factor. Delev (2016: 148; 2017: 45–47; 2018: 193) considers Cotys, the son of Seuthes, a Sapaeaen king and rejects the existence of a late Odrysian kingdom (Delev 2018). Against this view, see Petkov (forthcoming).

[97] Diod. XXXIII.14–15; XXXIV–XXXV.12; Strabo XIII.4.2; Val. Max. IX.2 (ext) 4; App. *Mithr*. 6. According to Strazzulla (1901: 370; 1902: 19–20, 22, n. 1), followed by Petkov (forthcoming), after Cotys' death (dated by him *c.* 150 BC) Diegylis incorporated the Odrysae and the area of Bizya, as the *polis* became a capital of the Caeni. In support of this view he quotes Pliny (*NH* IV.47) and Solinus (X.18). Pliny, however, does not explicitly states that Bizya was in Caenica (see also Venedikov 1982: 58–59; Boteva 2017: 120) – intus Bizye arx regum Thraciae a Terei nefasto invisa hirundinibus, regio Caenica, colonia Flaviopolis, ubi antea Caela oppidum vocabatur, et a Bizye L . . . Solinus (10.17–19), on his part, localising Bizya in Caenica simply paraphrases Pliny (*NH* IV.46–47). See also Boteva 2017: 120, n. 31.

and their piratical activity (if he were Strabo's source for VII.6.1) from the stories told by sailors who visited western Pontus – his being from Ephesus making such a possibility plausible; or that he relied on the works of his predecessors. If the latter then he must have obtained from an author who published between 218–211 BC (the decline of the Celts and possibly the rise of the Astae) and 104–100 BC (the date of Artemidorus' *acme*). It is tempting to name Polybius, whose work was known to Artemidorus and who was the only author from this period for whom it can be claimed, albeit with some degree of uncertainty, to have mentioned the Astae. However, Strabo's report gives some details which on one hand can be connected with Artemidorus' *Geographumena*, but, on the other, were probably not available in Polybius' *Histories*.[98] Therefore it is possible that Strabo's source for VII.6.1 (= Artemidorus) obtained from Polybius only the statement that it was the Astae living above Salmydessus who plundered the castaways, and possibly that the coast was 'desert' (= without inhabitants), since this was an update of the information available in Xenophon's *Anabasis*.

However, this reconstruction does not help solve the question about the upper chronological limit of Astaean presence at Salmydessus. On the contrary, it turns out that the provisional upper chronological limit proposed at the beginning of this study (*c.* AD 25) is not valid, since it is based on information which was possibly obtained from an author who probably worked about 120 BC, namely Polybius. Moreover, if the Astae controlled Salmydessus only when at their peak, this means that the Astaen part of Strabo's report reflected reality not later than the first half of the 2nd century BC. Yet, one should not ignore the possibility that because of the short distance between Bizya and Salmydessus the Astae continued to rule the coast, or at least its northern part (modern Kiyiköy and its surroundings), even during their decline.

II.3.2. Strabo VII.6.2

The other certain references to the Astae appear in Strabo. The first states that the Astae were to be found above Byzantium, and that within their lands it was the *polis* of Calybe where Philip II settled the most troublesome individuals:

> Strabo VII.6.2 – ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ πόλις Καλύβη, Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσαντος.

This reference can provisionally be divided into two parts: political-geographical (the extension of the Astaean lands) and historical (Philip II's actions). The former reflects reality during the time of the primary source of the information, while the latter may also have been available in the primary source, or was simply added by Strabo himself. The political-geographical part can be connected to two different periods:[99] to the time when the Astae were at their peak (the end of the 3rd/first half of the 2nd century BC); and the time of the late Thracian kingdom, whose capital was Bizya (the first half of the 1st century BC). The question of the chronology of Strabo VII.6.2 is important as it may concern the upper chronological limit of Astaean presence at Salmydessus. For this reason it needs special attention, and, as a whole, VII.6.2 can be interpreted in three different ways:

1. It was a Strabonian paraphrase of the fragment ascribed to Polybius. The information in VII.6.2 really brings to mind what is said in the fragment:

[98] On this, see Vasilev 2019: 297–298.

[99] It should be noted that in Book 47 of his *Pilippika*, Theopompus (BNJ 115 F 219–220) noted both Astacus and Cabyle. But even if we accept Danov's statement that F 219 concerned the Astae, the fact that Theopompus describes Cabyle as a *chorion*, not as a *polis*, is an indication that he was not Strabo's source and that VII.6.2 does not deal with the 4th century BC. This argument is also valid for what was said by Anaximenes (BNJ 72 F 12) – Καβύλη· Δημοσθένης ἐν ῑ̄ Φιλιππικῶν. χωρίον ἐστὶ τῆς Θράικης, ὥς φησι Θεόπομπός τε ἐν μ̄ζ̄ καὶ Ἀναξιμένης ἐν ῆ̄ Φιλιππικῶν. See also Boshnakov 2003: 187–188, 197.

- Strabo VII.6.2 – ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ πόλις Καλύβη, Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσαντος.
- St. Byz. Καβύλη, πόλις Θρᾴκης οὐ πόρρω τῆς τῶν Ἀστῶν χώρας. Πολύβιος τρισκαιδεκάτῃ.

Both passages are highly problematic. In Strabo the settlement was named Καλύβη, while in the fragment it was Καβύλη, in Strabo Καλύβη was in the lands of the Astae, while in the fragment Καβύλη was not far from them. Moreover, in Stephanus' *Ethnika* there are two different *lemmata* – Καβύλη and Καλύβη.[100] It is usually accepted that Καλύβη equated to Καβύλη[101] and that the *lemma* Καλύβη cannot serve as confirmation of the existence of a settlement named Calybe, since Stephanus simply followed Strabo's spelling.[102] This on its part allows one to assume that Strabo simply paraphrased what was said in the fragment. If this is so, and if the fragment belonged to Polybius' *Histories*, then this information should be connected to the period of the rise of the Astae (more precisely to 206–204 BC).

2. It reflected the continuation of the Astaean expansion by including Cabyle in the lands they ruled.[103] In this case, Strabo's source could be one of Polybius, Artemidorus, or Posidonius:

   a. for VII.6.2 Strabo drawing from Polybius – Polybius may have noted the conquest of Cabyle by the Astae, which was the result of a campaign launched in a later period (after 206–204 BC). Strabo may have noted this event (ἐν ᾧ πόλις Καλύβη), whereas Stephanus of Byzantium may have ignored it (οὐ πόρρω τῆς τῶν Ἀστῶν χώρας).

   b. for VII.6.2 Strabo drawing from Artemidorus – for his description of the Thracian coast Artemidorus may have used information that reflected the extension of the lands ruled by the Astae, and Strabo may have included this information in his *Geographika*.[104] In support of this view is Strabo's choice of language, whereby, after finishing the description of western Pontus with Byzantium, as if incidentally, and completely in the style of the *periploi* (without unnecessary details), he adds: ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ πόλις Καλύβη, Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσαντος. In view of the date of Artemidorus' *acme* (104–100 BC), in this case, as well, the information should be connected with the time when the Astae were at their peak (the end of the 3rd/first half of the 2nd century BC) rather than with the late Thracian kingdom, whose capital was Bizya (the first half of the 1st century BC). But how was Artemidorus able to obtain such precise information from a source other than Polybius that could discuss Astaean lands in the interior and reflect reality during this period?

   c. for VII.6.2 Strabo drawing from Posidonius – Posidonius may have mentioned the capture of Cabyle by the Astae in his geographical[105] or his historical work.[106] The latter was a continuation of Polybius' *Histories* and deals with events to 86 BC at least.[107] Given its chronological span, it seems highly unlikely that Strabo obtained his information from this work – it appears that in the decades after 150 BC south-eastern Thrace was dominated by the Caeni, i.e. it was hardly possible for the Astae

[100] St. Byz. Καλύβη, πόλις Θρᾴκης, ἄποικος Μακεδόνων. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καλυβῖται ἢ Καλυβεῖς, ὡς Ἀλύβης Ἀλυβεῖς.
[101] See, e.g., Oberhummer 1896: col. 1772.65–68; 1919: col. 1455.15, 22–27; Danov 1952: 133; Fol 1975a: 88; Detschew 1976: 220–221.
[102] Oberhummer 1919: col. 1455.24–26; Boshnakov 2003: 310–311.
[103] This is Danov's view (1952: 133–134).
[104] It is true that Artemidorus wrote a *periplus* and concentrated mostly on the seashore, but he also often described the interior (see Vasilev 2019: 287). From the preserved fragments it is clear that Artemidorus had something to say about the lands between Thessaloniki and the Istrus (Stiehle F 59a = Strabo VIII.8.5), and those between the Cypsela and the Cyaneae (Stiehle F 66 = Strabo VII. F 22a – Radt 2003).
[105] Kidd TT 75–79b, FF 49–50.
[106] Kidd T 80, FF 51–78.
[107] Kidd F 51.

to rule over Cabyle during the second half of the 2nd century BC as long as their capital Bizya was probably under threat from the Caeni, who were at their peak.

As for the possibility that Strabo is referring to the putative late Astaen kingdom, one should point to Eutropius, according to whom, during his campaign in Thrace (72/71 BC), Lucullus defeated the Bessi in a great battle on Haemus and captured the Bessian *polis* of Uscudama.[108] If these were really Bessi, this means that, most probably, in 72/71 BC the Thracian kingdom, whose capital was Bizya, did not control lands to the north of Strandja. Even if they were not Bessi,[109] the very fact that Lucullus captured Uscudama and Cabyle, but did not attack Bizya and other *poleis* to the south of Strandja,[110] demonstrates that at that time the two *poleis* hostile to Rome were not part of the Bizyan kingdom, whose rulers apparently pursued a pro-Roman policy, at least from 87/86 BC.[111] It seems that the rulers of Bizya acquired territories to the north of Strandja only after 72/71 BC.[112] This, on its part, is an indication that VII.6.2 may be connected either to the time when the Astae were at their peak (the end of the 3rd/first half of the 2nd century BC), or to the time after 72/71 BC. Given that the latest fragment from Posidonius' historical work dealt with the events from 86 BC, and that it is unclear which year the work ended,[113] it is more plausible to conclude that it was not Strabo's source. It is possible, of course, that at times Posidonius describes events in Thrace that happened before 145/44 BC, and that Strabo followed him, but even if this is so, this information would have probably been obtained from Polybius, and, what is more important, in this case, too, it would have dealt with the time when the Astae were at their peak.

As for the *On the Ocean*, it is interesting to present Boshnakov's view. According to him, Strabo's source for VII.6.2 was Posidonius' work of the same name, while the latter, for his part, combined the data on Cabyle available in Theopompus and Polybius.[114] Boshnakov believes that, because of his conception of the barbarians, Posidonius changed the name Cabyle into Calybe and that he called the Bessi καλυβῖταί τινες, an expression used by Strabo.[115] If this is the case, then VII.6.2 refers to the time when the Astae were at their most active.

3. It was political-geographical information on Calybe, which was a different *polis* from Cabyle.[116] In this case, Strabo's source may have been each of the three authors mentioned above, and this source may

[108] Eutr. VI.10 – Alter autem Lucullus, qui Macedoniam administrabat, Bessis primus Romanorum intulit bellum atque eos ingenti proelio in Haemo monte superavit. Oppidum Uscudamam, quod Bessi habitabant, eodem die, quo adgressus est, vicit, Cabylen cepit, usque ad Danubium penetravit.

[109] This is Delev's opinion (2014: 172).

[110] For Lucullus' Thracian campaign, see Sallust. *Hist*. IV.1. FF 18–19 (Maurenbrecher 1891); Livy *Per*. 97; App. *Ill*. 30; Fest. 9.2–3; Eutr. VI.10; Amm. Marc. XXVII.4.11; Jordan. *Rom*. 220–221 (Mommsen 1882).

[111] A Chaeronean decree (Holleaux 1919: 322 line 26) mentions the help of the Thracian Sadalas to Lucius Cornelius Sulla. It is possible that this Sadalas ruled the Bizyan kingdom – an inscription from Bizya (Dumont 1892: 365, no. 62a) may have named him (see Delev 2014: 424), or a homonymous successor of his king.

[112] According to Kabaktchiev (2000: 146), the final rise of Thracian statehood to the south of Istrus began precisely with Lucullus' campaign, crushing the resistance of the local dynasts and placing them under Odrysian control. See also Kabaktchiev 2000: 149–150.

[113] According to Dowden (2014: note on F 93 and Biographical Essay), 'the travels could easily be over and the *On the Ocean* written on his return by 96 or 95 BC. It is unlikely to have been more than a few years later. Arguments to show it was later than 88 BC are mistaken'. Dowden thinks that Posidonius began his historical work *c.* 92 BC or perhaps *c.* 86 BC, and assumes that it may have taken him 'a good 15 years, maybe more' to finish it. He also points out that with the exception of T 1 we do not hear of him as active after the 60s BC.

[114] Boshnakov 2003: 187–189, 310–311, 314–315.

[115] Strabo VII.5.12.

[116] Seure (1929: 298–299) identifies Καλύβη with Malko Tarnovo, whereas Venedikov (1982: 59) with the Κελέββαι mentioned in an inscription from Trajanopolis (Avezou and Picard 1913: 147–154, no. 51, line 6). Similarly, Delev (2010: 101–102) also assumes that there were two separate settlements bearing similar or identical names – one at the bend of Tundza, the other in the area of Strandja. Castelli (2015: 89) also supports the existence of two separated settlements.

have had in mind both periods – the time of the Astaean apogee, or the time of the late Thracian kingdom whose capital was Bizya.

From what has been said so far about VII.6.2, it seems too risky to draw general conclusions. Yet, if one accepts that when he noted Calybe Strabo had in mind Cabyle, then this means that he referred to the time when the Astae were at their strongest (the end of the 3rd/first half of the 2nd century BC).

II.3.3. Strabo VII F 20a

The second reference is a fragment (VII. F 20a) from the *Geographika*, which states that Bizya was a *basileion* of the Getae: Γετῶν δὲ βασίλειον ἦν Βιζύης. As has been noted above, most probably the fragment referred to the Astae, not to the Getae. It is not chronologically oriented, but it has often been used as a proof of the existence of a late Astaean kingdom, whose capital was Bizya. According to this view, the Astaean kingdom revived *c.* 100 BC, and certainly not later than 86/85 BC (i.e. after the decline of the Caenian power), and the end of the Astaean dynasty is placed at 43/42, 31, 22, or 11 BC.[117] In support of this view the following points are usually made: Strabo's (Getae = Astae?) and Stephanus of Byzantium's statements that Bizya was the capital of the Astae; the epigraphic inscription from Bizya, which demonstrates that the *polis* was probably a *basileion* during the first half and middle of the 1st century BC;[118] and the fact that in Roman times there existed a *strategia* Ἀστική that covered a large territory – from Perinthus to Apollonia.[119] Others, however, categorically reject the Astaean origin of the dynasty,[120] or simply accept that it was Odrysian.[121]

The statement that Bizya was the capital of the Astae can be connected to the two periods. Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the evidence does not allow any conclusion about Strabo's source, which could provide a chronological clue. Yet, it should be noted that the latest historical information in this relatively voluminous fragment refers to the revolt of Pseudo-Philip (Andriscus), i.e. to 149/48 BC (ἣν ἀφείλοντο Περσέα Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Ψευδοφίλιππον).[122] On this fragile basis, one can assume that F 20a, too, referred to the time when the Astae were at their peak (during the end of the 3rd/first half of the 2nd century BC),[123] and, accordingly, that the primary source of the statement that Bizya was the capital of the Astae was Polybius. If the proposed date is correct, this means that F 20a cannot serve as evidence of the Astaean origin of the dynasty residing in Bizya during the first half of the 1st century BC.

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[117] For the Astaean origin of the dynasty and its chronology, see Kahrstedt 1922: col. 1552.68–1553.61; Patsch 1932: 49, 52; Danov 1952: 150–151, 155; 1979: 121–126; Peter 2003: col. 880 [I 4–6]; Petkov 2012: 111; Delev 2016: 148–150.

[118] See, e.g., Dumont 1892: 365 no. 62[a] – Βασιλεὺς Κότυς βασιλέα Σαδάλαν καὶ βασίλισσαν Πολεμοκράτειαν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς Θεοῖς πατρώ(ι)οις.

[119] Pliny *NH* IV.45 – Astice regio habuit oppidum Anthium, nunc est Apollonia; Ptol. III.11.6 (Müller 1883) – παρὰ δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Περίνθου πόλεως μέχρις Ἀπολλωνίας παράλιον ἡ Ἀστικὴ στρατηγία; IGRP I: 229, no. 677 – στρατηγὸς Ἀστικῆς περὶ Π[έ]ρινθον; 261 no. 801 – στρατηγὸς Ἀστικῆς (τῆς) περὶ Πέρινθον.

[120] Especially Mihailov 1955 and Petkov (forthcoming).

[121] See, e.g., Rostovtzeff 1934: 6 and 6, n. 1; Tacheva 1997: 71–72; Kabaktchiev 2000: 143, 149, 160–161.

[122] Strabo also lists in the fragment some of the Odrysian kings: Ἀμάδοκος καὶ Κερσοβλέπτης καὶ Βηρισάδης καὶ Σεύθης (? – cod. θησεὺς Kramer 1847: 88, app. crit. 6) καὶ Κότυς. It seems highly unlikely that this Cotys was one of the homonymous rulers from the 1st century BC.

[123] Such is Boshnakov's view (2003: 100, 203). See also Todorov (1998: 33–34), who assumes that the Thracian Bizes mentioned in connection with the events from 148 BC (Zon. IX.28) was an Astaean dynast. This is based on the view that the name Bizes and the name of the Astaean *basileion* Bizya had a common root. The conclusion supports the view that Bizya was a *basileion* of the Astae at least since the first half of the 2nd century BC. However, as with the case with Amadocus discussed above, the tribal origin of Bizes also remains debatable. Other scholars hold the opinion that he was an Odrysian (Petkov 2012: 98).

II.3.4. Strategia Astice

According to Pliny, Thrace was divided into fifty *strategiai*.[124] Obviously, these *strategiai* were not formerly fifty different Thracian kingdom ruled by their own dynasts. Therefore, most were named after the tribes who lived there. Perhaps such was the case with the Astae, since even those who support the Astaean origin of the dynasty ruling during the first half and middle of the 1st century BC assume that sometime in the second half of the century the dynasty ceased to exist, i.e. in AD 45 the Romans conquered a kingdom whose kings were not Astae, and, accordingly, the *strategia* (Astice) was not named after the supposed late Astaean kingdom.

But, if nothing else, can the name of the *strategia* Astice serve as evidence that even in the middle of the 1st century AD the Astae were the ethnos that dominated the area of Bizya[125] and the Pontic coast to the south of Apollonia? Because of the lack of any concrete evidence of the Astae during the Roman period, a similar conclusion can be justified if one accepts that the name of the *strategia* was new and that the Romans named it Astice (after AD 45) due to the origin of the population they met there, and it was not, for example, an old name that existed during the time of the Thracian kingdom whose capital was Bizya and it was later adopted by the Romans. If it were a Thracian administrative unit, its creation may be dated in an early period,[126] which raises the question whether, *c.* AD 45, the Astae were already an anachronism. In support of a similar view, one can point out that Pliny, who notes the *strategia* Astice,[127] mentions nothing about a tribe called Astae. On the other hand, it appears that there is no substantial reason why one should accept that after the decline of their power (after 172 BC?) the Astae were expelled or assimilated; in the period before the subjection of Thrace by the Romans no major invasions to the south of Strandja were noted, similar to the Persian, Macedonian, and Celtic aggressions, which could displace the population of south-east Thrace and drive the Astae out. Moreover, it seems highly unlikely that after their peak the Astae quickly lost their identity only because they were under the rule and influence of another tribe. On that basis, the existence of the Astae during the 1st century AD is not out of the question. Therefore, the possibility that they continued to plunder those who were wrecked on Salmydessus should not be rejected out of hand – the homonymous settlement was situated only 30–40 km from Bizya.

II.3.5. Jordanes, Stephanus of Byzantium, Procopius of Caesarea and Theophylact of Simocatta

There are two further names that can hypothetically be connected with the ethnonym Astae. The first is in Jordanes:

> Jord. *Roman.* 219 (Mommsen 1882) – diri namque homines omniumque gentium ferocissimi sunt Thraces, quorum saevitiam pariter habent et Scordisci et Emimontii Asticique . . .

After these lines, he lists the names of several Roman generals who fought in Thrace in the period 112–72/71 BC. If one assumes that *Asticique* is corrupt and refers to the Astae, then this means that in this period the Astae were still politically active. However, the passage under discussion makes a difference between Thracians on one side, and Scordisci, Haemimontaens, and Asticique on the other, which may

[124] Pliny *NH* IV.40 – Thracia sequitur, inter validissimas Europae gentes, in strategias L divisa.

[125] It is interesting to note that Pliny (*NH* IV.45, 47) does not explicitly state that Bizya was in Astice.

[126] According to Fol (1972: 136), the Late Hellenistic *strategia* Astice also existed during Early Hellenistic times, and even during the 5th century BC.

[127] Pliny *NH* IV.45 – Astice regio habuit oppidum Anthium, nunc est Apollonia. The spelling Astice, not Astica (cf. Caenica – Pliny *NH* IV.47), points towards a Hellenistic source. Gerov (1978: 13) dates this source to the last decades of the Thracian kingdom, which, in his view, was divided into *strategiai*, as Astice was undivided *strategia* later divided by the Romans into several *strategiai*.

mean that Jordanes does not classify the latter as Thracians. In fact, it seems that he simply paraphrases Festus, who mentions neither the Astae nor Asticique,[128] or that they both used one and the same source, who hardly said anything about the Astae.[129] Therefore, Asticiques is not identical with Astae.[130]

The second name appears in Stephanus' *Ethnika*: Πιάσται, ἔθνος πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ. The Penastii of *Tabula Peutingeriana*[131] are usually identified with Stephanus' Piastae. According to Tomaschek, Penastii can also be read as Pehastii.[132] It is assumed they dwelled on lands near the Astae,[133] or even that their name represented a hybrid name of the tribes mixed with the Celts, which Tomaschek calls 'Hoch–Asten'.[134] The location of the Penastii close to the Pontus and Strandja makes the connection between the Piastae (if Piastae = Penastii (= Pehastii?)) and the Astae possible. What has not been noted is the interesting detail that in one of the codices (X) of Ptolemy's *Geography* Astice is inscribed as Παστική,[135] which can be easily connected with the Piastae. This, of course, does not mean that the name of the *strategia* was Pastice, since Astice was noted by Pliny and appeared in the two epigraphical inscriptions discussed above. Moreover, in five other codices is written Μαστική. The existence of Παστική, however, shows that the settlements of the Piastae may have been situated close to Astice, or even in its territory, which made the mistake of the copyist of the Ptolemaic text possible. If this supposition is correct, then, given their location in *Tabula Peutingeriana*, Penastii were identical with Piastae. That being so, one can raise the question whether the Piastae (= Penastii?) were part of the Astae or were they simply their neighbours. If the former is true, it should be accepted that even during Roman times the Astae were not assimilated and continued to people the area of Strandja, and this mountain was noted as Asticus in *Tabula Peutingeriana*.[136] Another variant is also possible, namely that the Piastae had nothing to do with the Penastii. In such case, everything said above will be valid for the alleged connection between the Penastii and Astae, whereas the only certain thing about the Piastae will be that they lived somewhere on the Pontic coast, or in close proximity to it, and it can only be guessed whether this was the Thracian or some other coast of the Pontus.[137]

Lastly, few late references to Astice should be noted. The first appears in Procopius of Caesarea, who in reference to the attacks of the Slavs says as follows: καὶ χώραν τὴν Ἀστικὴν καλουμένην ἐληΐζοντο κατ' ἐξουσίαν . . .[138] The rest are found in Theophylact of Simocatta who notes Astice in connection with military actions against Avars and Slavs: τὸ δὲ πολέμιον πρύμναν τε ἐκρούσατο καὶ ἐς φυγὴν ἐξωθεῖτο καὶ τῆς Ἀστικῆς αὐτῆς ἀπελαύνεται . . . ; καὶ πρὸς τὴν Ἀστικὴν . . . ; ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ δὲ διαπεραιωθεὶς τὰς ὕλας τῆς λεγομένης Ἀστικῆς τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει . . . ; εἶτα πρὸς τῇ Ἀστικῇ τὰς δυνάμεις συνήθροισε . . .[139]

These references contribute nothing to the solution of the problem under discussion.

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[128] Fest 9.1–3; cf. Jord. *Roman.* 219–221 (Mommsen 1882).

[129] A part of the data furnished by Jordanes and Festus is similar to that found in other authors who also make no mention of the Astae. See Flor I.39; Amm. Marc. XXVII.4.10–11.

[130] See also Mommsen 1882: 28, n. 3 – Haemimontii Asticique *sumpti sunt ex provinciis Rufi quae sunt* Haemimontus *et* Scythia; *de Astis ne cogita*.

[131] Miller 1916: col. 595 (VIII.4).

[132] Tomaschek 1867: 706. In his later study, Tomaschek (1893: 85) speaks only about Pehastii. Miller's edition (1916: col. 595) notes only Penastii.

[133] Tomaschek 1893: 85; Detschew 1976: 366; Georgiev 1977: 67.

[134] Tomaschek 1867: 706.

[135] Müller 1883: 480, app. crit. 2.

[136] Miller 1916: col. 600 (VIII.5).

[137] In the *lemma* Stephanus of Byzantium quotes his anonymous source (Ἡρωδιανός – Meineke 1849: 522 line 4 and app. crit. 4) as follows: Πιάσται . . . βαρύνεται δὲ ὁμοίως τῷ Ὀρέσται. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ Διέσται. Μακεδονικὰ δέ εἰσιν ἔθνη. καὶ οἱ Πιάσται. Stephanus himself points out that the Piastae were not a Macedonian tribe: χρὴ δὲ εἰδέναι, ὅτι οὔ φησι καὶ τοὺς Πιάστας Μακεδονικὸν ἔθνος εἶναι, ἀλλὰ συμβαρυνομένους τοῖς Διέσταις καὶ Ὀρέσταις.

[138] Procop. *de bellis*. VII.40.43.

[139] Theoph. Simoc. *Hist*. I.7.6; II.15.4, 17.4; VII.7.1.

II.3.6. Conclusions About the Upper Chronological Limit

From what has been said so far one can reach the following unexpected conclusion: in one way or another all references (even those of Artemidorus) to the ethnonym Astae quoted can be connected to Polybius' *Histories*. Does this mean that the upper chronological limit of the Astaean presence at Salmydessus must be placed not later than the middle of the 2nd century BC? As noted, there is no substantial reason why we must accept that the Astae were expelled or assimilated by adjacent tribes in the period 172 BC – AD 45. Even if it is assumed that after the decline of their power until the arrival of the Romans the Astae were under the control of other tribes, this does not necessarily mean that their piratical activities at Salmydessus ended; it is possible that during this period the coast remained unsettled and the Astae, whose centre, Bizya, was only 30–40 km from the settlement at Salmydessus, continued to plunder the castaways. However, in the absence of any reliable evidence, the question of how long the Astae continued to plunder the castaways at Salmydessus cannot be categorically answered. The upper chronological limit, therefore, remains in the air, as the only certainty is that the plunderers at Salmydessus during the first half of the 2nd century BC were the Astae.

III. Xenophon, Diodorus, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, and Anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*

III.1. Xenophon

III.1.1. Thracians in Book 7 of Anabasis

In the winter of 400/399 BC those Greeks who had survived the battle of Cunaxa arrived in Thrace. Most, headed by the Athenian Xenophon, decided to remain in the service of Seuthes the Thracian. In the course of fulfilling the contract, they helped him to impose his power over the lands that had been ruled before by his father Maesades. The events are described in Book 7 of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, where the Thracians are called as follows: Melanditae, Thyni, Tranipsae, Odrysae, Mountain Thracians, Thracians in the so-called Delta, Melinophagoi, and Thracians at Salmydessus. To determine, insofar as it is possible, who the Thracians at Salmydessus were it is necessary to examine those parts of the *Anabasis* that refer to the location of the tribes in south-eastern Thrace.

III.1.2. Xenophon's Salmydessus

Xenophon mentions the Thracians relating to this present study only in connection with their piratical activities at Salmydessus. For this reason, it is necessary to establish what, in his view, Salmydessus was exactly. Xenophon says as follows:

> VII.5. (Hude 1972) – [1] Ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷκας εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον· αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μαισάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρύσου ἀρχαίου τινός. [12] καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπείσθησαν, συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν. ἔνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεουσῶν νεῶν πολλαὶ ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάμπολυ τῆς θαλάττης. [13] καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες στήλας ὁρισάμενοι τὰ καθ' αὑτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντα ἕκαστοι λῄζονται. τέως δὲ ἔλεγον πρὶν ὁρίσασθαι ἁρπάζοντας πολλοὺς ὑπ' ἀλλήλων ἀποθνῄσκειν. [14] ἐνταῦθα ηὑρίσκοντο πολλαὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλαὶ δὲ βίβλοι [γεγραμμέναι], καὶ τἆλλα πολλὰ ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι ἀπῆσαν πάλιν.

From the quoted passages it does not become clear how far in Xenophon's view Salmydessus stretched, and whether he refers to the settlement or the coast bearing that name. However, the fact that he describes in detail the way of life of the local Thracians and their connection with the sea, and at the same time says nothing about Lake Terkoz and the false Bosporus, are indications that the shoals described by Xenophon were not situated there. And, since it is obvious that he is not referring to the shore southeast of the lake, one may conclude that the *Anabasis* is describing the setting around that part of the Pontic coast close to the settlement of Salmydessus, i.e. at modern Kiyiköy (**Figure 8**).[140] This is where the Thracians who plundered the castaways should be looked for (**Figure 9**). If Xenophon

[140] For the geographical setting of Xenophon's Salmydessus in more detail, see Vasilev 2021: 666–667.

Figure 8: The Gulf of Kiyiköy, view from its northern coast.
(photo: author).

Figure 9: Xenophon's Salmydessus.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

really had in mind this narrow coastal stretch, then it is highly likely that he was referring to a small community, part of a single ethnic group.

III.1.3. Melinophagoi

Analysing the passages quoted above, some scholars have reached the conclusion that Xenophon's Thracians who plundered the castaways at Salmydessus were identical to the Melinophagoi.[141] This identification, in itself, is not of much use, since the name Melinophagoi means millet eaters, i.e. Xenophon did not have in mind a particular tribe, but people who consumed millet. The result is the identification of one group of anonymous Thracians with another group of anonymous Thracians. But the bigger problem is that for the localisation of the Melinophagoi scholars can rely only on what is said by Xenophon.[142] According to him, keeping the Pontus to the right (ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον) Seuthes and the Greeks passed through the Thracian Melinophagoi (διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν) and arrived at Salmydessus (ἀφικνοῦνται . . . εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν). It seems that in this case Salmydessus was noted as a toponym beyond the lands of the Melinophagoi, which lands should be located along the Pontic coast, or in close proximity to it, to the south-southeast of modern Kiyiköy. If this conclusion is correct, then Xenophon's plunderers at Salmydessus were anonymous Thracians who dwelled on that very coast (οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες), not the Melinophagoi.[143]

III.1.4. Odrysae

The identification of Xenophon's Thracians at Salmydessus with the Odrysae has been proposed by Porozhanov.[144] In support of this view, he advances two arguments. First, citing the *Anabasis*,[145] he states that according to Xenophon the Odrysian king Teres possessed the areas beyond Byzantium and the Thracian Delta. Second, he points out that after conquering Salmydessus, while on his way to Selymbria, Seuthes' army was already larger then Xenophon's because of the great many Odrysae who had joined it.[146]

It seems that both these arguments cannot be used to help identify the Thracians at Salmydessus with the Odrysae. The first is inaccurate, since, according to Xenophon, only the so-called 'Delta' was ruled by Teres. He does not explain who this Teres was, nor says anything about his control over the lands beyond the Delta. The second does not take into consideration the use of the verb καταβαίνω (ἔκ τε γὰρ Ὀδρυσῶν πολὺ ἔτι πλείους κατεβεβήκεσαν), which Xenophon has used earlier in connection with those Odrysae who joined Seuthes' army during his campaign against the Thyni.[147] In both cases he is probably speaking about those Odrysae who came down from the upper lands (the interior), those ruled by Medocus.[148] In fact, if Xenophon's report is followed, and if Seuthes' actions are excluded, the

[141] Venedikov 1982: 45, 59; Lendle 1995: 455–456, note on VII.5.12–16; Delev 2010: 100.

[142] Apart from Xenophon, the Melinophagoi were mentioned only by Theopompus (BNJ 115 F 223) and Stephanus of Byzantium, who quoted him – Μελινοφάγοι, ἔθνος Θρᾴκης. Ξενοφῶν ἐν ἀναβάσεως ἑβδόμῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῷ τεσσαρακοστῷ ἑνάτῳ. According to Boshnakov (2003: 94–95), the fact that Theopompus mentioned the Melinophagoi noted by Xenophon shows that the former adhered to earlier toponymy in south-eastern Thrace. Fol (1980a: 26) holds the opinion that Theopompus' source might have been Xenophon, but also that it is more plausible to presume that we are dealing either with a close account from the time of Philip II's campaign against Atheus, or with recorded oral tradition on the bad reputation of the Melinophagoi. In both cases, Theopompus' reference cannot help in localising the Melinophagoi.

[143] See also Fol and Spiridonov 1983: 108–109, and von Bredow 2006a: col. 632.

[144] Porozhanov 2012: 233.

[145] Xen. *Anab.* VII.5.1.

[146] Citing Xen. *Anab.* VII.5.15.

[147] Xen. *Anab.* VII.4.21 – ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ὀδρυσῶν ἀκούοντες ἃ πράττοι ὁ Σεύθης πολλοὶ κατέβαινον συστρατευσόμενοι.

[148] See also Stronk 1995: 238.

Odrysae first came as conquerors into what was to be the *archē* of Maesades; they were expelled later, returning only after they had learnt about Seuthes' success.[149]

III.1.5. Maesades' Archē

As for the location of the remaining Thracians, Xenophon's information on the lands subjected to Maesades is of particular importance. He obtained the information during his nocturnal visit to Seuthes' camp. Retelling what Seuthes told him, he explains: that Seuthes' father was Maesades, under whose rule once were Melanditae, Thyni, and Tranipsae; that after the Odrysae fell into a bad state Maesades was driven out of his *archē*, and thereafter sickened and died; that Seuthes was brought up as an orphan at the court of Medocus, the present king; that when he reached manhood, Medocus gave him as many men as he could so that he might inflict whatever harm he was able to on those who had driven them out; and that at the time he met Xenophon, Seuthes plundered his own ancestral land.[150] On the following day, and in another context, Seuthes confirmed to the Greeks that they would not follow him anywhere that was more than seven days from the coast and in many places less than that.[151]

III.1.5.1. The Seven Days' Journey

Although neither Seuthes nor Xenophon connect the statement about the seven-day journey (made on the following day and in another context) with Maesades' *archē*, it is often accepted as evidence of the maximum spread of the latter's territory to the north, and, accordingly, of the lands peopled by one of the tribes (the Melanditae, Thyni, or Tranipsae).[152] Different calculations about the distance Xenophon's army could cover in one day, as well as interpretations of the references to Melanditae, Thyni, and Tranipsae, have lead to different conclusions in terms of the northern border of Maesades' *archē*, e.g. Haemus,[153] the Gulf of Burgas,[154] the hinterland of Apollonia,[155] and the natural border formed by the ridges of the Dervent Heights and Strandja.[156] Given that the campaign was to be launched during the harsh winter season, the last supposition seems the most plausible; one might expect that Seuthes, taking into account the current climatic conditions, provided the Greeks with correct information about the distances they could possibly cover, or otherwise he risked trouble with the foreign mercenaries if led the army into regions more than seven days from the coast. On the other hand, if one links the seven-day journey to current climatic conditions, the conclusion is also reached that this distance must rule out the northern border of Maesades' *archē*, for, according to Xenophon, at that time the road through the coastal mountains was covered with deep snow, and that conditions were the same even in the Thynian Plain (ἦν δὲ χιὼν πολλὴ): it was so cold that the water they carried in for dinner, and even the wine in the jars, would freeze, and many of the Greeks suffered from frostbite to their ears and noses.[157] Obviously, when speaking of a seven-day journey, Seuthes did not have in mind a march through the main Strandja massif (in which, or beyond, the lands of the Tranipsae lay – see III.1.8.3.2). Therefore, the seven-day journey involved the lands over which Seuthes wanted to impose his power at that precise moment. Given the season, his plan, as will become clear below, may have included the

[149] Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.22, 32; 4.21; 5.15.
[150] Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.32–34.
[151] Xen. *Anab.* VII.3.12.
[152] See, e.g., Venedikov 1982: 48; Delev 2010: 99.
[153] Venedikov 1982: 48; Porozhanov 2011b: 178–179. See also Venedikov 1970: 28–29.
[154] Fol 1975a: 102–103.
[155] Archibald 1998: 106. See also Lendle 1995: 436, note on VII.3.10–12.
[156] Delev 2010: 99.
[157] Xen. *Anab.* VII.3.42; 4.3.

Figure 10: Perinthus, the modern roads Vize-Kiyiköy and Saray-Kiyiköy and Lake Terkoz. (Created by the author, map data ©Google)

conquest of only a part of his father's *archē* as well as lands that had never been under his rule.[158] Taking into consideration both the bad climatic conditions and the road followed by the army, the seven-day journey probably covered the distance from the coast at Perinthus[159] to the area of the settlement of Salmydessus. Xenophon's army began its march at Perinthus, reached the Thynian Plain, and after that, on its way to Salmydessus, did not follow the modern road Vize–Kiyiköy (or even Saray–Kiyiköy), but for some time kept the Pontus to its right, i.e. the army circumvented, from the south, the heights stretching along the Pontic coast to the south-east of the line Saray–Kiyiköy (**Figure 10**), most probably to advance through flatter, snow-free, terrain.

III.1.5.2. The Thracian Delta and the Thracians Above Byzantium

To a certain extent, Maesades' *archē* can be outlined in an east-south-easterly direction, if it is based on the precise geographical setting of the so-called 'Delta', which was not under his rule. Describing the arrival of the army in the Delta, Xenophon points out that this land was beyond Maesades' *archē*, but in the possession of Teres, the Odrysian.[160] The question about the identity of this Teres is highly debatable and it is neither possible nor necessary to discuss it here.[161] More important for the present study is

[158] See also Stronk 1995: 245. According to him, the Melinophagoi were not in Maesades' *archē*, and, accordingly, Seuthes' campaign against Salmydessus should be considered as an extension of his territory.

[159] Definitely not seven days from any sea (i.e. not only from Propontis but also from the Pontus), otherwise it would be a march in a north-west direction to the area of Odrin (the main massif of Strandja was snow-covered and impassable), which is *c.* 170 km from Marmara Ereğlisi. See also Grosby 1875: 139 (Notes); Stronk 1995: 203.

[160] Xen. *Anab.* VII.5.1 – Ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷκας εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον· αὕτη δ' ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μαισάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρύσου ἀρχαίου τινός.

[161] He is believed to have been the founder of the Odrysian kingdom (Cary 1752: 15; Pretor 1880: 119; Ferrabino 1913: 232–233; Fol 1975a: 101–102; Lendle 1995: 452–453, note on VII.5.1) or a contemporary of Maesades (Höck 1891: 85, n. 1; Dobruski 1897: 571; Todoroff 1933: 23; Zlatkovskaya 1971: 231; Tacheva 1988: 28; Stronk 1995: 239–240; Veligianni-Terzi 2004: 136), or of Seuthes and Xenophon (Mihailov 1972: 64; Tacheva 2006: 100; Zahrnt 2015: 43).

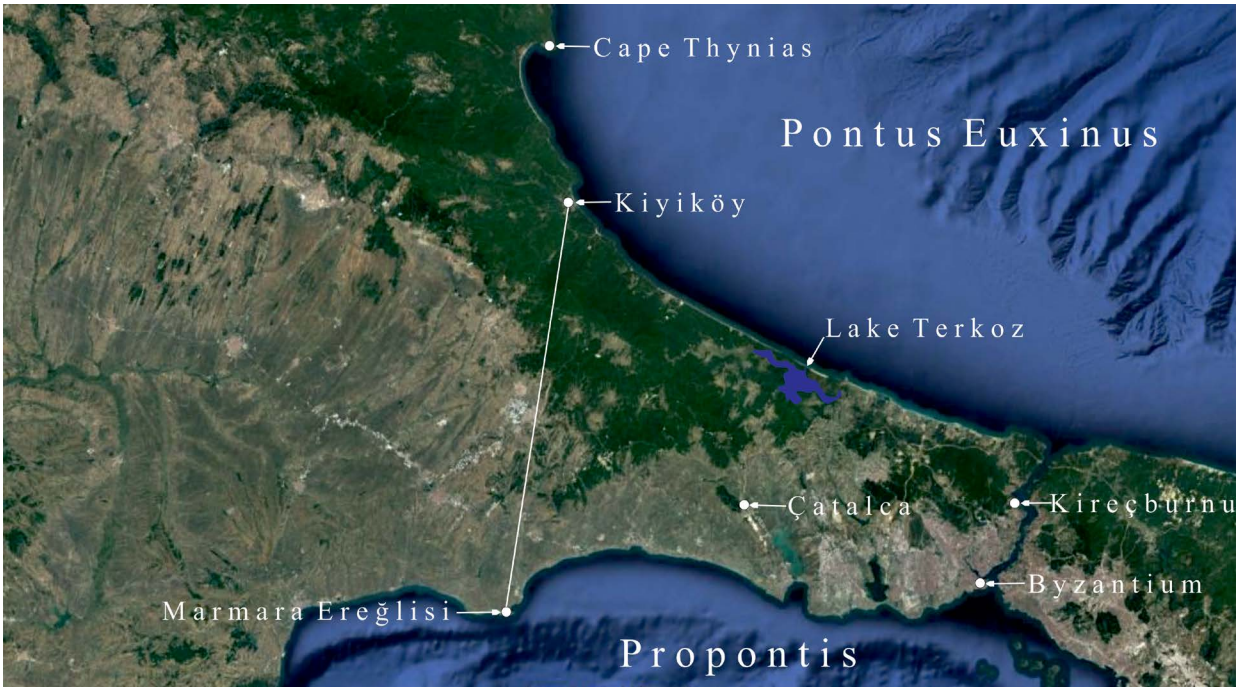

Figure 11: Toponyms related to the Thracian Delta according to scholars.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

that, apparently, in Xenophon's view the Delta was beyond Maesades' *archē*,[162] which may mean that it was not peopled by the Melanditae, Thyni, and Tranipsae, who were under his rule. At first glance, the conclusion contradicts what was said by Seuthes, who, during Xenophon's night-time visit, stated that he needed the Greeks in order to recover his father's *archē* (ἀπολαβεῖν τὴν ἀρχήν).[163] In this case, obviously, he did not refer to lands beyond Maesades' *archē*. On the other hand, in his speech delivered on the next day, during a banquet, Xenophon promised Seuthes to not only recover his father's *archē* but also to conquer other lands.[164] It can be assumed that when describing this situation in his *Anabasis* many years later, Xenophon simply reported the final result of the Greek-Odrysian combined operation, namely not only the recovery of Maesades' *archē*, but also the conquest of lands that had never been under his rule – at least the so-called 'Delta'. If this is the case, then it is necessary to attempt to place the Delta, since it may have included the Thracians at Salmydessus, who (if they lived in the Delta) may have been different from the Melanditae, Thyni, and Tranipsae, all ruled by Maesades.

Scholars outline differently the borders of the Delta: it was the peninsula of Byzantium to the east of Chataldja;[165] it was situated to the north-east of Byzantium;[166] it stretched between Kireçburnu on the Bosporus and Lake Terkoz;[167] between the northern entrance into the Bosporus, Lake Terkoz and Lake

[162] The use of οὐκέτι may be interpreted as an indication that the so-called 'Delta' had been formerly under the control of Maesades, but, at some time after he had been expelled, Teres became its master, also possessing it in 400/399 BC. The following remark by Stronk (1995: 240) seems to provide a satisfactory answer to the question: 'If Teres had been present in the Delta, Xenophon would have preferred to write: οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Σεύθου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους (beyond the domain of Seuthes, being the land of Teres)'.
[163] Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.33–34.
[164] Xen. *Anab.* VII.3.31.
[165] Delev 2010: 100.
[166] Danov 1968: 138.
[167] Stronk 1995: 162.

Büyükçekmece;[168] between Byzantium and Salmydessus;[169] it has been identified with the area behind Byzantium, approximately towards the line Kiyiköy–Ereğli;[170] or it represented the large peninsula between the Pontus, Bosporus and Propontis including the whole Salmydessus, which, for its part, stretched between the Bosporus and Cape Thynias (**Figure 11**).[171]

It seems that the Delta is mentioned only by Xenophon,[172] which he does twice. The first is in connection with the offer made by the Theban Coeratadas to the mercenaries who were in Byzantium. He came to them and said he was ready to lead them to the so-called Delta in Thrace, where they could get plenty of good things, and until they reached there he said he would supply them with food and drink in abundance.[173] Xenophon later adds that when he saw that his supplies fell far short of amounting to a day's food for each of the soldiers, Coeratadas renounced his generalship.[174] From Xenophon's report it is clear that the Delta did not extend to the walls of Byzantium but was at least one day away from the *polis*. Moreover, the terrain can hardly be described as difficult. In such case, it turns out that the localisation of the Delta to the east of the heights at Chataldja, and probably between Kireçburnu and Lake Terkoz, is implausible, as the area into which the district must fit is insignificant. Another variant, of course, is also possible. This involves a day's journey along the Bosporus towards Kireçburnu (if Stronk's view is accepted), but this means crossing the Golden Horn, which seems highly unlikely. An additional problem is the possibility that the Delta could be more than one day away from the *polis*, since Xenophon does not explicitly state that the army needed a day's food to reach the district, but simply that Coeratadas could not provide a day's food for each of the soldiers. The words of the Theban general also indicate a longer period of time: ἔστε δ' ἂν μόλωσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξειν ἔφη καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά. Therefore the Delta also stretched beyond the heights at Chataldja (from the point of view of the Byzantines), the heights of which one could probably reach after a quick two-day march from Byzantium. It remains unclear whether the Delta included any lands at all to the east of the heights at Chataldja.

After finishing his description of the campaign against the Thyni, Xenophon mentions the Delta for the second time. He states that afterwards the army set out for the Thracians above Byzantium in the so-called Delta, which was not in the possession of Maesades, but of Teres the Odrysian.[175] Next, the army continued its march and, keeping the Pontus on its right, through the Melinophagoi, arrived at Salmydessus.[176] It seems that this information is precisely the reason why some scholars extend the Delta as far as Salmydessus. In support of this view, the following arguments can be advanced. First, Xenophon notes the arrival within the Delta, but when he describes the march through the Melinophagoi and the arrival at Salmydessus he says nothing about leaving it. Second, the local Thracians are called Melinophagoi and Thracians dwelling at Salmydessus, i.e. they are not described as Melanditae, Thyni, or Tranipsae, which allows one to assume that they lived in the Delta, which was beyond Maesades' *archē*. In this case, they will correspond to the anonymous Thracians above Byzantium in the so-called Delta (ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷκας εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον). But even if one identifies the Thracians at

[168] Lendle 1995: 430 fig. 71, 446–447, note on 7.4.1–2.
[169] Kühner 1852: 304, note on VII.5.1; Pretor 1880: 101; Höck 1891: 84–85; Dobruski 1897: 571, 581; Todoroff 1933: 23; Fol 1972: 140.
[170] Mihailov 1972: 64.
[171] Porozhanov 2011b: 98–99, 104, 123.
[172] He is quoted by Eusatius in his Commentary on Dionysius Periegetes (242) – Ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι ὁ Ξενοφῶν ἱστορεῖ καὶ τῆς Θρᾴκης τόπον εἶναί τινα Δέλτα καλούμενον.
[173] Xen. *Anab.* VII.1.33 – εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον τῆς Θρᾴκης, ἔνθα πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ λήψοιντο· ἔστε δ' ἂν μόλωσιν, εἰς ἀφθονίαν παρέξειν ἔφη καὶ σῖτα καὶ ποτά.
[174] Xen. *Anab.* VII.1.41.
[175] Xen. *Anab.* VII.5.1.
[176] Xen. *Anab.* VII.5.12.

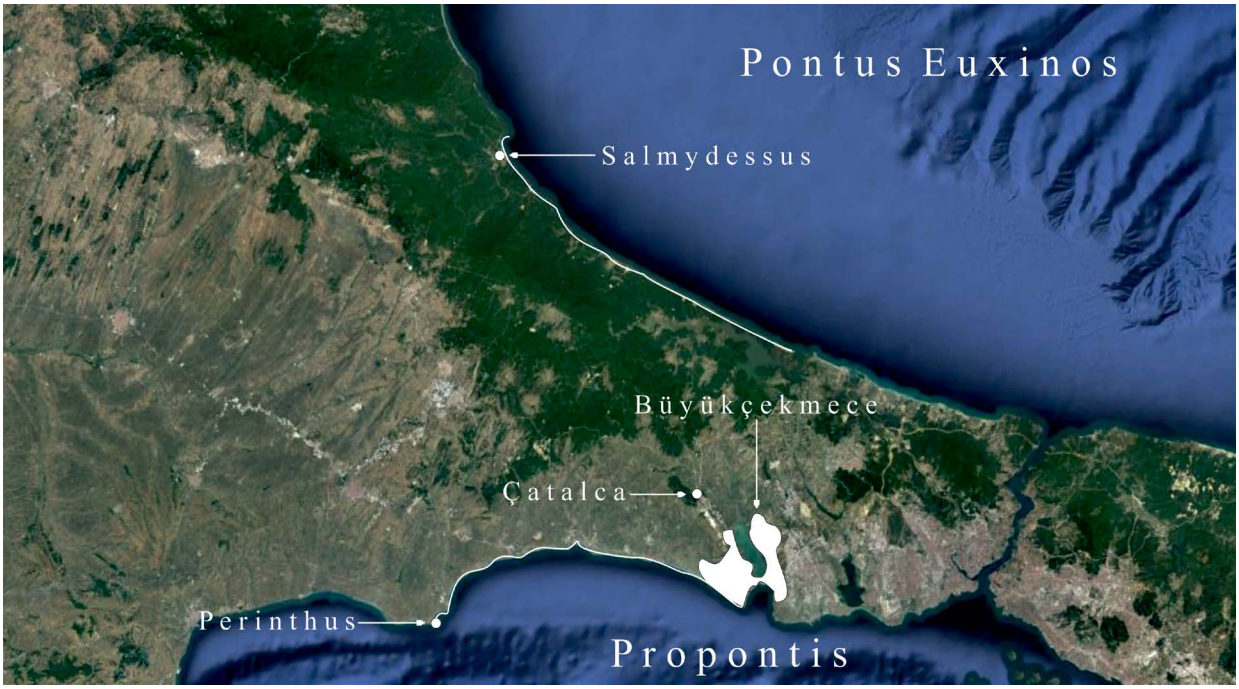

Figure 12: The Letter Δ and the Thracian Delta.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

Salmydessus with those above Byzantium,[177] this will in no way help solve the main question that is of importance for the present study – the identity of the Thracians plunderers – as this will be an association of one group of anonymous Thracians with another. Third, if it is accepted that the Delta was a separate paradynastic *archē*,[178] then it can be expected that it covered a larger area than that suggested by Delev, Stronk and Lendle. Fourth, most probably the Delta district received its name because of its resemblance to the Greek letter 'Δ'. A cursory glance at the map shows that the curve of the seashore from the heights at Chataldja to the settlement of Salmydessus corresponds to one side of this 'Δ', descending from the top to the base. The other side can be connected with the seashore from Büyükçekmece to Perinthus (Marmara Ereğlisi) (**Figure 12**).

The problem we face is that, according to Xenophon, the army, after its return from Salmydessus, camped on the plain above Selymbria (between Byzantium and Perinthus) at a distance of 30 stadia from the coast.[179] The fact that Xenophon does not describe it as a Delta site may mean that the Delta did not stretch to it and, accordingly, to Perinthus. For this reason, and because of too many other uncertainties, the question of whether the area of the settlement of Salmydessus was in the Delta remains open for further discussion. Thus, the impossibility of outlining the area of Maesades in a south-southeast direction does not allow us, at least at this stage of the research, to identify the Thracians at Salmydessus with Xenophon's Melanditae, Thyni, and Tranipsae.

[177] Lendle (1995: 455–456 note on VII.5.12–16) identifies the Melinophagoi with the Thracians above Byzantium and the Astae, and believes that they controlled Salmydessus.
[178] Fol (1975a: 103) believes that the Delta was not a paradynastic territory, it being a key area as far as the access of the Odrysae to the seashore is concerned.
[179] Xen. *Anab.* VII.5.15 – κατηυλίσθησαν δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ὑπὲρ Σηλυμβρίας ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίους ἀπέχοντες τῆς θαλάττης.

III.1.6. Thyni and Mountain Thracians

The Thyni played a central role in Xenophon's account. It seems that in his view their tribal core was the so-called Thynian Plain (τὸ Θυνῶν πεδίον), which was surrounded by mountains on at least two sides. In the direction of Perinthus the villages of the Thyni touched the slopes of a coastal mountain, which was one night's journey from a location that was more than 30 stades away from the *polis*.[180] After they crossed over the mountain, the Greeks and Seuthes encamped on the plain of the Thyni, who had abandoned it and obviously fled to another mountain.[181] In this mountain the so-called 'mountain Thracians' were (ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καλουμένοις Θρᾳξὶ).[182] It is not clear whether under this name Xenophon had in mind Thyni who lived high in the mountain, other Thracians who were not Thyni, or the Thyni who came there under the pressure of Seuthes and the Greeks.[183] What is important for the present study is that no matter which of the enumerated groups he had in mind, because of their description as mountaineers, the mountain Thracians cannot be identified with the Thracians living on the coast at Salmydessus.

As for the mountain populated by the 'mountain Thracians', it was certainly Strandja, but it is not clear in which part of it the events described happened. For this reason, there are significant differences as far as the localisation of the Thynian Plain is concerned. Delev identifies it with the area around Lüleburgas,[184] while Stronk suggests that the plain was between Chataldja in the south, Saray in the north-west, Fehra Tepe in the north, and to the west and east bordered by the Strandja foothills.[185] Stronk's claim that the plain reached Chataldja seems implausible, since, as noted above, when Xenophon mentions the plain above Selymbria he does not call it τὸ Θυνῶν πεδίον, but τὸ πεδίον ὑπὲρ Σηλυμβρίας. This, of course, does not mean that the lands above Selymbria were not peopled by Thyni, since after they had finished their campaign in the lands of the Thyni, the Greeks and Seuthes headed straight towards the Thracians in the so-called Delta,[186] and, as has been noted above, it is not clear whether the settlement in question was situated within it.

From what has been said so far, it can be concluded that Xenophon explicitly calls Thyni only the people living in the Thynian Plain, and possibly those who lived in the mountain which bordered it. The settlements of the Thyni, however, could also have stretched beyond this area, as before Xenophon's arrival Seuthes was in possession of certain a territory which may or may not have been peopled by Thyni.[187] In addition, it is not clear whether they managed to conquer the whole of Maesades' *archē* or, because of the bad weather, concentrated only on the region that was negotiable. Another fact also deserves attention: Xenophon states that Seuthes did not feel secure in his tower, and adds that in the same area (ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ) his ancestor Teres, although he had a large army, was defeated by the Thyni.[188] From the report it is clear that Seuthes' tower was not on the Thynian Plain, but 60 stades away from Perinthus.[189] That being so, if Xenophon's lines are accepted literally, then a couple of decades before his arrival in south-eastern Thrace the settlements of the Thyni must have extended beyond τὸ Θυνῶν πεδίον, almost to Perinthus. Yet, it is possible that Xenophon was not being so precise, and had in mind the lands of the Thyni as a whole. What seems certain for the present is that according to Xenophon's report the settlements of the Thyni did not stretch to Salmydessus.

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180 Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.11, 3.1, 7–10, 40–43.
181 Xen. *Anab.* VII.4.2, 5–6.
182 Xen. *Anab.* VII.4.11. See also VII.4.12, 21.
183 A view held by Stronk 1995: 230.
184 Delev 2010: 98.
185 Stronk 1995: 223. See also von Bredow 2009: 649 – 'in the hilly lands of Čatalka'.
186 Xen. *Anab.* VII.4.22–5.1.
187 Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.38, 5.8, 6.43, 7.50.
188 Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.21–22.
189 Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.11, 17.

III.1.7. Melanditae

The Melanditae[190] are only mentioned by Xenophon. He does it only once and provides no geographical clues as far as their location is concerned. For this reason, many different localisations have been proposed. Some of these take into consideration Xenophon's order of enumeration, the absence of military actions against them, and the existence of toponyms with similar names: generally in Thynia,[191] around the Gulf of Melas and the homonymous river,[192] before the lands of the Thyni,[193] in the environs of Perinthus and inland from the Gulf of Melas,[194] to the north of Perinthus,[195] on the western Pontic coast,[196] in the east, in the lands towards the Pontus,[197] or in Strandja.[198] Some scholars believe they were Thyni,[199] or Phrygians,[200] whereas others identify them with the Apsintians,[201] the Paitoi,[202] or even with the Melinophagoi.[203]

In view of the fact that the name of the Melanditae appears only once, and that Xenophon provides no geographical clues, their localisation is an almost impossible task. What is important for the present study is that neither Xenophon's order of enumeration (Melanditae, Thyni, Tranipsae), nor the attempts to connect them with definite toponyms and ethnonyms (the Gulf of Melas and the homonymous river, the Melantiada road station,[204] the district of Μελανδία,[205] and the Melinophagoi), allow us to identify the Thracians at Salmydessus with the Melanditae.

III.1.8. Tranipsae

Thus, from the different groups of Thracians mentioned by Xenophon, only the Tranipsae remain. As in the case with the Melanditae, Xenophon provides no specific information about their location. This has led to different modern localisations: on Propontis,[206] somewhere in the district of Thynia,[207] among the Thyni,[208] between the River Ergene and the Pontus,[209] to the north of the Thyni and the so-called Delta,[210]

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190 In some codices Μελανδέπται and Μελανδέσται (Krüger 1826: 384, app. crit. 32).
191 Danov 1968: 147; Detschew 1976: 291.
192 Venedikov 1982: 48; Delev 2010: 98; Porozhanov 2011b: 178.
193 Veligianni-Terzi 2004: 189–190.
194 Archibald 1998: 108 fig. 4.2., 111.
195 von Bredow 2006b: col. 615.
196 Danoff 1969a: col. 1162.
197 Oberhummer 1931a: col. 407.
198 Todoroff 1933: 23; Danov 1952: 139; Zlatkovskaya 1971: 231.
199 Oberhummer 1931a: col. 407; Danoff 1969a: col. 1162; Stronk 1995: 185–186.
200 Tomaschek 1893: 66 – 'ältere phrygische Reste'.
201 Venedikov 1982: 48.
202 Delev 2010: 98–99.
203 Stronk 1995: 244 – 'Prof. Hind suggests in a letter to me that they may have been identical with the Melanditae'.
204 Danov 1968: 147, n. 139. The road station Melantiada, which was about 20 miles from Constantinople, is noted in the Roman itineraries (Miller 1916: col. 540; Cuntz 1990: 20, 33, 50) and in the *Suda* (Μελαντιάς).
205 Tomaschek (1894: II.2, 66) holds the opinion that in Thynia there was a district called Melandia, and connects the district with the Melanditae. Obviously, this view is based on Xenophon's statement that the Melanditae were one of the tribes subject to Maesades. According to Stephanus of Byzantium, who quotes Theopompus, Melandia was a land in Sithonia or Sicyon: Μελανδία, χώρα Σιθωνίας (Σικυωνίας – Billerbeck 2014: 292, 293, n. 164). Θεόπομπος τριακοστῷ τρίτῳ Φιλιππικῶν. τὰ ἐθνικὰ Μελάνδιος καὶ Μελανδία. Perhaps, for this reason, Pretor (1880: 108) localises the Melanditae in Sithonia. The view does not correspond to Xenophon's report.
206 Zlatkovskaya 1971: 231.
207 Danov 1968: 147.
208 Tomaschek 1893: 46.
209 Detschew 1976: 520.
210 Veligianni-Terzi 2004: 190.

to the north of the Thyni, in the plain, and on the slopes west of Strandja,[211] to the north of the Thyni, around Lozengrad (Kirklareli) and as far as the Dervent heights in the north, or maximum as far as the area of Elhovo and Bolyarovo,[212] at the Burgas Gulf,[213] and around the Burgas Gulf and to the north of it.[214] Scholars believe they were remnants of an old population,[215] or Thyni.[216] It has also been noted that their name has a similarity with the name of Herodotus' Nipsaei,[217] or they have even been identified with them.[218]

III.1.8.1. Theopompus F 16 and the Southern Localisation of the Tranipsae

Apart from Xenophon, Theopompus, Hesychius, and Theognostus also mention the Tranipsae, as the latter two provide only empty *lemmata*.[219] As for Theopompus (BNJ 115 F 16), he is quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium in the following way:

> St. Byz. Λαδεψοί καὶ Τρανιψοί, ἔθνη Θυνῶν (θυνῶν R Q: Βιθυνῶν P N – Billerbeck 2014). Θεόπομπος ὀγδόῳ Ἑλληνικῶν.

There is here an important clarification, which does not appear in Xenophon, namely that the Tranipsae, together with the Ladepsi,[220] were part of the Thyni or Bithyni. Because of the spelling Βιθυνῶν, Theopompus' Ladepsi and Tranipsae have occasionally been localised in Asia Minor.[221] Moreover, due to the form Τρανίξαι, found in some of the codices of the *Anabasis*,[222] it can be assumed that in his description of the events from Europe Xenophon speaks about Τρανίξαι, not about Tranipsae, whereas Theopompus had in mind the Ladepsi and Tranipsae who were in Asia Minor and were Bithyni. But such a reconstruction seems highly unlikely, since in Hesychius the form is Τρανιψοί and he classifies them as a Thracian ethnos, not as a part of the Bithyni. Perhaps Hesychius used Xenophon, in whose *Anabasis* the form Τρανιψοί also appears. Therefore, Theopompus' Tranipsae should be localised in Europe and identified with Xenophon's Tranipsae. This conclusion also leads to a rejection of the form Βιθυνῶν, since it was noted in (some codices of) Theopompus' *Hellenica*, which covered the events from 411 to 394 BC, and only the Thyni were mentioned (in the *Anabasis*) in connection with actual events that happened in Europe in this period, whereas the references to the presence of the Bithyni in Thrace are scarce and refer to a later period.[223]

According to Fol, Theopompus' source was Xenophon, who, however, does not mention the Ladepsi. In his view this means that Ladepsi was Theopompus' or Stephanus of Byzantium's construction and

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[211] Mihailov 1991: 605.
[212] Delev 2010: 100.
[213] Archibald 1998: 108, fig. 4.2.
[214] Venedikov 1982: 45, map 3, 49–51.
[215] Tomaschek 1893: 46.
[216] Venedikov 1982: 112–113; Stronk 1995: 191; Veligianni-Terzi 2004: 190; Delev 2010: 99.
[217] For a possible connection between the two names, see Tomaschek 1894: II.2, 68; Oberhummer 1936: col. 707; Danov 1968: 147, n. 140; Venedikov 1982: 50–51; Delev 2010: 99.
[218] Venedikov 1970: 28; Stronk 1995: 191; Lendle 1995: 432–433, note on VII.2.32–34; Müller 1997: 884, 940; von Bredow 2006c: 775; Porozhanov 2011b: 178–179. Fol (1980a: 13), although cautious, is also inclined to agree with this view.
[219] Hsch. Τρανιψοί· ἔθνος Θρᾴκιον; Theognost. *Can.* – Τράνιψος τὸ ἔθνος (Cramer 1835: 77.2).
[220] According to Lentz (1867: 227.10–11), the Ladepsi were also mentioned in Herodianus' Περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας – Λαδεψός καὶ Τρανιψός ἔθνη Θυνῶν. Θεόπομπος ὀγδόῳ Ἑλληνικῶν.
[221] Cramer 1832: 215; Texier 1862: 49.
[222] Krüger 1826: 384–385, app. crit. 32.
[223] Ancient authors speak of Bithyni in Thrace, even after their supposed migration to Asia (Strabo XII.3.3 (see, however, n. 298); see also St. Byz. Βιθύαι). There are also names that can be connected with the Bithyni (Mela II.24; Pliny *NH* IV.47; App. *Mith.* 1; Miller 1916: col. 527 – Bitenas, Bithena; Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II.177 – Schaefer; Keil).

that the ethnonym and the tribe should be deleted from the map of Thrace.[224] The assumption that Theopompus followed only Xenophon leads Fol to another conclusion: the Tranipsae were not Thyni, since in the *Anabasis* they were mentioned separately. Fol believes that Theopompus noted the Tranipsae in reference to the return of the Spartans from Asia Minor into Europe, through friendly lands in Thrace (398/97 BC).[225] Jacoby holds a different opinion: the evidence referred to Dercylides' campaign in Asia Minor (399/98 BC), in which Odrysian allies sent by Seuthes (200 cavalrymen and 300 peltasts) took part.[226] There is another view, supported by Morison, according to whom 'this reference might have been part of a retelling of the story of the return of the Ten Thousand'.[227]

All three datings are plausible, since according to Stephanus of Byzantium the two tribes were noted in Book 8 of the *Hellenica*,[228] the latter describing events from 411 to 394 BC.[229] The same book mentions the Bithynian *polis* of Calpe,[230] which may be connected to the return of the Ten Thousand (400/399 BC),[231] or to Dercylides' campaign in Bithynia (399/98 BC).[232] If the views of Morison and Jacoby are accepted, then Theopompus' reference cannot help with the localisation of the Tranipsae – in the first case it will be a retelling of Xenophon's report, while in the second it will be information on the origin of the soldiers sent by Seuthes into Asia Minor. It seems that the same conclusion is valid if one takes into consideration the reference to Dercylides' stay in Thrace as a guest of Seuthes. Most probably, Theopompus did not mention the Ladepsi and Tranipsae in connection with Dercylides' crossing of their lands, since he was in the lands of the amicably disposed Seuthes, and one might expect that if Theopompus was following another author than Xenophon, then this other author, similarly to Xenophon,[233] mentioned only Seuthes' name. It seems, rather, that Theopompus was describing Seuthes' *archē*. If so, the only argument (the possibility that Dercylides crossed the lands of the Tranipsae, and that this was noted by Theopompus) in favour of the proposed southern localisation of the Tranipsae (on the northern coast of Propontis) can rightly be rejected.

III.1.8.2. Herodotus IV.93.1 and the Northern Localisation of the Tranipsae

The northern localisation of the Tranipsae is usually based on the geographical order of Xenophon's enumeration (Melanditae, Thyni, and Tranipsae) and on the similarity between their name and the name of Herodotus' Nipsaei. Because of the proposed identification of the Tranipsae with the Nipsaei, and because of the view expressed by some scholars that the Nipsaei or Skyrmiadai plundered the castaways at Salmydessus, it is necessary to discuss them as well. Herodotus mentions them in the following way:

> Hdt. IV.93.1 (Hude 1927) – οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Σκυρμιάδαι (Κυρμιάναι A B C P) καὶ Νιψαῖοι (Μυψαῖοι A B C P), ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείῳ·

[224] Fol 1980a: 12.
[225] Xen. *Hell.* III.2.9.
[226] Xen. *Hell.* III.2.2, 5. FGrHist 115, note on F 16.
[227] Morison 2016: note on F 16.
[228] See, however, FGrHist 115 F 16, app. crit. 10 – ὀγδόωι Ald $\overline{N}$ (?) R V P. See also Shrimpton 1991: 218 – 'Ladepsi and Tranipsi, tribes of the Thynians. Theopompus *Hellenica* 8 [mss: 50, *ergo Philippica*?]'. If one connects Theopompus' fragment with Book 50 of *Philipika*, this will significantly change the situation and give the opportunity for new interpretations.
[229] BNJ 115 TT 13–14.
[230] BNJ 115 F 15.
[231] Xen. *Anab.* VI.2.13, 17; 3.2, 10, 14, 24; 4.1, 3.
[232] Xen. *Hell.* III.2.2–5.
[233] Xen. *Hell.* III.2.9 – καὶ διὰ φιλίας τῆς Θρᾴκης πορευθεὶς καὶ ξενισθεὶς ὑπὸ Σεύθου ἀφικνεῖται εἰς Χερρόνησον.

The passage is interpreted in three different ways: that the Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei lived in Salmydessus;[234] that one tribe was in possession of Salmydessus (and Apollonia?), while the other lived above Mesambria (and Apollonia?);[235] and that Salmydessus was controlled by anonymous Thracians, whereas the Skymriadai and Nipsaei lived above Apollonia and Mesambria.[236]

III.1.8.2.1. Variant 1: Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei Controlled Salmydessus

This is Venedikov's view.[237] He reaches the conclusion that, with the name Melinophagoi, Xenophon noted Herodotus' Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei, and adds that the same is valid for the Astae who were later mentioned in sources. Venedikov localises the Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei in Salmydessus, and, more precisely, between the springs of the Tearus and the territory of Apollonia. According to him, the Nipsaei were neighbours of the Tranipsae, as the latter lived to the north of Strandja. As for the Skyrmiadai, they inhabited the region that was furthest away from the Tranipsae part of Salmydessus, i.e. to the south. He also adds that when referring to Salmydessus the ancient authors had Strandja in mind,[238] and that the name Melinophagoi referred to those who consumed millet, and, accordingly, this name may also have included other tribes who populated the mountain and preferred millet.

Venedikov's localisation is difficult to sustain, since it contradicts the information furnished by ancient authors. For example, the references to Salmydessus do not support its identification with Strandja. They refer to a coast, a cape, a settlement, a river, a gulf, a sea, or simply a place, but not to a mountain.[239] Moreover, none of the references allows us to connect the coast north of Cape Thynias with Salmydessus, which, to a certain extent, makes Venidikov's localisation of the different tribes implausible. As for the tribes, the localisation of the Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei in Strandja only does not correspond to Herodotus' information, the latter explicitly connecting one of them with the lands above Mesambria, which according to Venedikov were peopled by Xenophon's Tranipsae. In fact, as will become clear below, the southern localisation of the Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei cannot be sustained. All this means that they were not identical with the Melonophagoi and the Astae.

III.1.8.2.2. Variant 2: Skyrmiadai or Nipsaei Controlled Salmydessus

If variant 2 is accepted, and if one takes into consideration Herodotus' expression οἱ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες, then either the Skyrmiadai, or the Nipsaei could be identified with Xenophon's Thracians at Salmydessus. Apart from Herodotus' report, in favour of a more southern localisation of one of the two tribes, in this case the Nipsaei, two *lemmata* from Stephanus' *Ethnika* are usually quoted. The first refers to the *polis* of Nipsa and its citizens – Nipsaei: Νίψα, πόλις Θρᾴκες, ὁ πολίτης Νιψαῖος. Ἡρόδοτος τετάρτῃ. The second localises the Sires above Byzantium and cites the *lemma* on the Nipsaei: Σίρες, ἔθνος Θρᾴκες ὑπὲρ τοὺς Βυζαντίους, ὡς δέδεικται ἐν τῷ περὶ Νίψιων. This leads to the following geographical reconstruction: the Sires were above Byzantium and the Nipsaei were their neighbours. The problem is that Stephanus of Byzantium cites Book 4 of Herodotus *Histories*, where a *polis* named Nipsa is absent. This may mean that either the epitomist of the *Ethinka* shortened the part of the text that contained additional information on Nipsa, or that this toponym was a later construction deriving

[234] Venedikov 1982: 41, 45–48, 51, 62.

[235] Kazarow 1935: col. 1068; Oberhummer 1936: col. 707; Danov 1968: 146; Detschew 1976: 463.

[236] Lenk 1936: col. 419.38–45; Venedikov 1970: 30; Schrader 1979: 276 – καί <οί> ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης; also 373, n. 362; Stronk 1995: 45; Müller 1997: 884, 921–922, 940; Archibald 1998: 82; Vasilev 2015: 51, 59; Vassileva 2015: 321. See also Delev 2010: 96–97.

[237] Venedikov 1982: 41, 45–48, 51, 59, 62. Veligianni-Terzi (2004: 17–18) also assumes that the Skymriadai and Nipsaei jointly controlled Salmydessus, but, unlike Venedikov, she believes that they lived above Mesambria and Apollonia.

[238] Followed by Delev 2010: 96–97. Mihailov (1991: 604) does not identify Salmydessus with Strandja, but simply notes that the former stretched as far as Apollonia and included Cape Thynias.

[239] See the references with a commentary by Vasilev 2021.

from Herodotus' ethnonym.[240] No doubt the *lemma* was shortened, which can be proved by the reference in the second *lemma* and the absence of the Sires in the first. This, however, cannot serve as evidence that Stephanus of Byzantium used not only Herodotus but also another source for Nipsa. Moreover, it is not clear in which context the Sires were mentioned in the *lemma* Νίψα, i.e. whether they were explicitly described as neighbours of the Nipsaei and whether there was at least indirect chronological information (for example a quotation from an ancient author), about the time when the Sires peopled the lands above Byzantium; if the *lemma* Νίψα cited certain later author for the Sires, whereas for the Nipsaei only Herodotus, then the claimed proximity between the two tribes would be Stephanus of Byzantium's work. It is not clear whether Stephanus provided additional geographical clues to the location of the Sires,[241] or whether he wrote only ὑπὲρ τοὺς Βυζαντίους. If in a given period the Sires ruled a larger territory (highly unlikely), then, even as neighbours, the Nipsaei could have peopled lands to the north of Strandja.[242] In fact, if Stephanus used only Herodotus for the Nipsaei, his localisation was no better than those proposed by scholars.

Because of the reasons given above, the southern localisation of the Nipsaei, i.e. to the south of Strandja, on its southern slopes, or on the coast to the south of Cape Thynias, remains, at least, problematic. In support of the view that neither the Skyrmiadai nor the Nipsaei can be connected with the coast of Salmydessus which stretched to the south of Cape Thynias is also Herodotus' language, who, rather, states that the Thracians (whoever they were) possessed Salmydessus, and not that they peopled it. But how was it possible for the Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei, whose location was explicitly connected with Apollonia and Mesambria (ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκημένοι) to control Salmydessus together (οἱ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες)? It seems that the attempts to connect only one of the two tribes with Salmydessus distort Herodotus' words. Therefore, either the two tribes exercised joint control over Salmydessus, or some other Thracians were masters of the place.

III.1.8.2.3. Variant 3: Anonymous Thracian Controlled Salmydessus

If the thoughts expressed above are correct, then one can conclude that in Herodotus' view Salmydessus was controlled by Thracians, whose name he does not mention. In such a case: the Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei should not be connected with Salmydessus; they had nothing to do with the Melinophagoi and Astae. Finally, these conclusions lead to another: if the Tranipsae and the Nipsaei were one and the same tribe, then Xenophon's Tranipsae cannot be identified with Xenophon's Thracians at Salmydessus.

III.1.8.3. The Location of the Tranipsae

If one accepts that Herodotus, like Xenophon, acquired his information firsthand,[243] and that they both recorded the names of the Nipsaei and Tranipsae as they heard them, this may serve as an argument that they noted two different tribes. And while the Nipsaei can be placed above Mesambria, or Apollonia,[244]

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[240] For the second possibility, see Fol 1980a: 13; Müller 1997: 884; von Bredow 2006c: 775. ATL (357, 526) assumes that the *polis* existed and locates it at Cape Thynias.

[241] Cf. Strabo VII.6.2 – ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ πόλις Καλύβη.

[242] Oberhummer (1927: col. 308) identifies the Sires with Herodotus' Siriopaeonians (V.15.3) and sites them on the lower Strymon, which excludes the possibility that the Sires and Nipsaei were neighbours. He provides no arguments in support of this view. Stephanus of Byzantium explicitly localises the Sires above the Byzantines, i.e. above Byzantium. According to Tomaschek (1893: 46), the Nipsaei were a sub-division of the Sires.

[243] Some scholars question Herodotus' visit to the Pontus, or at least the credibility of the information he provides. See, e.g., Armayor 1978: 62: 'Either he did go and remained content to tell his readers what they wanted and expected to hear in the first place even though it was not true, or he did not go at all'.

[244] If Herodotus is strictly followed then the Nisapei will be above Mesambria, whereas the Skyrmiadai were to be found above Apollonia. The problem is that in a fragment from Eudoxus of Cnidus (quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium) the Skyrmiadai are connected with the Getae: Σκυμνιάδαι, ἔθνος σὺν Γέταις. Εὔδοξος τετάρτῃ γῆς περιόδου Σκυμνιάδαι καὶ Γέται. Taking

the precise location of the Tranipsae remains debatable. Xenophon mentions nothing about an attack against their lands, which may mean: either that they had already acknowledged Seuthes' authority – this points towards a southern localisation, which has already been rejected above; or that they should be identified with one among the anonymous Thracian tribes noted in the *Anabasis* (the so-called 'mountain Thracians', the 'Thracians above Byzantium', the 'Malinophagoi', or the 'Thracians at Salmydessus'); or that their settlements were situated in the main massif of Strandja, which, because of bad climatic conditions, was difficult to pass, and for this reason Seuthes decided not to attack them.

III.1.8.3.1. The Tranipsae and the Anonymous Tribes in Book 7 of the *Anabasis*

The second variant (i.e. the Tranipsae were one among several anonymous tribes mentioned by Xenophon) can also be questioned. As for the Melinophagoi and the Thracians at Salmydessus, up to a point, their identification with the Tranipsae depends on whether their lands (of the Melinophagoi and the Thracians at Salmydessus) were part of the so-called Delta, which is a question that remains unsolved. Yet it is possible to seek a solution in another direction. As has been noted above, Melinohpagoi means millet eaters. Each tribe given this name may have been noted, even people from different tribes, living along the Pontic coast, or in close proximity to it, to the south of Salmydessus (ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν). For this reason, the Melinophagoi are assumed to have been Thyni,[245] Astae,[246] or even Melanditae.[247] Their identification with the Tranipsae seems implausible for the following reasons. First, if a connection between the Tranipsae and the Nipsae had existed (because of the similarity between their names), then the lands of the former would not have been to the south of Salmydessus, where the Melinophagoi were, but in the main massif of Strandja or beyond it, i.e. closer to the lands of the Nipsaei, which were above Mesambria, or Apollonia. Second, if the name Tranipsae had derived from Nipsaei, no matter whether it had a geographical or other marker,[248] then the double definition of this population (without additional clarification) from one and the same author as both Tranipsae (those beyond the Nipsaei if Venedikov is followed) and Melinophagoi (millet eaters) seems highly unlikely. Third, even if it is assumed that the connection Tranipsae–Nipsaei does not exist, the way Xenophon describes the Melinophagoi (τῶν καλουμένων) also suggests that he does not refer to some of the small tribes, which he has already mentioned (Melanditae and Tranipsae), since a second reference to them this time as τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν would be strange at least. Therefore, under Melinophagoi one should understand a tribe whose name was not mentioned by Xenophon, or a population who were part of a big tribal group, probably that of the Thyni, no matter that they were noted earlier.

It appears that the last argument is also valid for the so-called 'mountain Thracians' (οἱ ἄλλοι Ἕλληνες ἐν τοῖς ὀρεινοῖς καλουμένοις Θρᾳξὶ πλησίον κατεσκήνησαν). It is true that their localisation in the mountain range that bordered the Thynian Plain allows one to connect them with the Tranipsae, but only if the mountain in question is identified with the main massif of Strandja, and only if they had nothing to do with the Thyni who escaped to the mountain, or with other Thyni who peopled it. As a

into consideration the information provided by the fragment, some scholars locate the Skyrmiadai between Mesambria and Apollonia (to the north of the Nipsaei), which makes them southern neighbours of the Getae (Tomaschek 1893: 46; 1894: II.2, 83; see also Detschew 1976: 463). Gisinger (1921: 75–76, note on F 19) arrives at the conclusion that in Eudoxus' view the Skyrmiadai were the northern neighbours of the Getae. He believes that the discrepancy between Herodotus and Eudoxus was due to the possibility that in describing the lands to the south of the Istrus, Eudoxus did not use Herodotus exclusively, but also other sources, perhaps Hecataeus or Hellanicus.

[245] Tomaschek 1893: 66; Oberhummer 1931b: col. 523; Danoff 1969b: col. 1175; Mihailov 1991: 605; Mainardi 2011: 10, n. 25.

[246] Krüger 1826: 411, note on VII.5.12; Grosby 1875: Lexicon 83; Pretor 1880: 121; Lendle 1995: 455–456, note on VII.5.12–16. According to Venedikov (1982: 48, 59), under the name Melinophagoi one should understand Herodotus' Skyrmiadai and Nipsaei, and Strabo's Astae.

[247] Stronk 1995: 244 – see n. 203 above.

[248] According to Venedikov (1982: 50–51), the name Tranipsae consisted of two parts and meant those beyond the Nipsaei.

result of these many uncertainties the connection between the mountain Thracians and the Tranipsae remains rather fanciful. Moreover, one might expect that the possible escape of the Thyni from the plain to the hypothetical mountain Tranipsae would have been noted by Xenophon, since some time before they had both been under the authority of Maesades, and at this very moment they resisted the aggression of his son Seuthes. That being so, the contact with the supposed mountain Tranipsae would have represented a new stage in the campaign against the Thracians who once acknowledged Maesades' authority and a reference to them seems logical. However, such clarification (mountain Thracians = Tranipsae) is absent.

The case with the Thracians 'above Byzantium' is similar – they were also anonymous, and crossing their lands also marked a new stage in the campaign. Moreover, if one accepts that under οἱ ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷκες Xenophon had in mind people who lived above the *polis* in the narrowest geographical sense, then the identification of these people with the Tranipsae points again to a southern localisation of the latter, which is difficult to sustain, and has already been rejected above.

Unlike the case with the Melinophagoi, who were mentioned only in passing, Xenophon explicitly speaks about the subjection of the Thracians at Salmydessus (ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι ἀπῆσαν πάλιν). This, along with their localisation at Kiyiköy (relatively in the north) and the fact that we do not know whether their lands were a part of the Delta, favours their identification with the Tranipsae. On the other hand, Xenophon provides relatively detailed information on them – he describes their way of life and pinpoints their location – but instead of naming them (for example as Tranipsae), which could enrich his account, he uses the impersonal οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες. It appears that under this definition one should not understand the insignificant tribes of Melanditae and Thranipsae, but rather a tribe not mentioned up to this point in the *Anabasis*, or a population, who were part of the large tribal group of the Thyni.

III.1.8.3.2. The Tranipsae in Strandja

Therefore, the third variant remains, i.e. that the settlements of the Tranipsae should be located in the main massif of Strandja, or beyond it, if at any cost a connection with the Nipsae must be established and if the latter are located above Mesambria or Apollonia. If this is correct, then one can conclude that because of the harsh winter conditions Seuthes and the Greeks did not even try to subject the territory of the Tranipsae.

III.1.9. Who were Xenophon's Thracians at Salmydessus?

From what has been said so far about Xenophon's Thracians at Salmydessus, it can be concluded that under οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες one of these three following options apply: a tribe not mentioned by name in the *Anabasis*; or the Thracians above Byzantium; or a population who were part of the large tribal block of the Thyni. The first seems unlikely, since, as demonstrated above, the only possible candidate, namely the Astae, were not Xenophon's Thracians at Salmydessus. The second identifies one group of anonymous Thracians with another group of anonymous Thracians, and this only on condition that the so-called Delta included the area of Salmydessus. But this identification does not answer the question who the Thracians at Salmydessus were. Moreover, it raises two additional questions: who were the anonymous Thracians above Byzantium and how many tribes are concealed under this name? Thus, the third variant remains, i.e. that the Thracians at Salmydessus were part of the large Thyni tribal block.[249]

[249] Such is the opinion of Tomaschek 1893: 66. See also Lenk 1936: col. 419.38–41; Stronk 1995: 45; Müller 1997: 921–922, 940; Vassileva 2015: 321. According to them, Herodotus' Thracians of Salmydessus were Thyni.

At first glance, against such a view is the fact that Xenophon explicitly names as Thyni only the population of the Thynian Plain, and possibly the Thracians living in the mountains that bordered it, and those Thracians who were neighbours of Perinthus, if the expression ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ χώρᾳ referring to the victory of the Thyni against Teres is accepted literary. But as has been noted, the settlements of the Thyni may have also stretched beyond the areas in question. To a certain degree in support of this view is a fragment from Hecataeus, who seems to have mentioned Cape Thynias[250] that was near Salmydessus. The reference reflects reality, at least *c.* 80–100 years before Xenophon's sojourn in south-eastern Thrace. If nothing else, it shows that in earlier times the settlements of the Thyni reached the Pontic coast in the area of Cape Thynias, and probably the area in which the settlement of Salmydessus was. Therefore, it is not impossible that, *c.* 400 BC, remnants of the Thyni peopled the same area, which was not far away from τὸ Θυνῶν πεδίον.

It is interesting also to note that, according to Xenophon, the local Thracians lived on the very coast of Salmydessus (οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες), while Strabo's source describes Salmydessus as a desert (ἔστι δ' οὗτος ἔρημος αἰγιαλὸς), and Herodotus speaks about Thracians who controlled it, but does not make clear whether they also peopled it (οἱ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες). It seems that Xenophon refers to a small community, who, in search of a livelihood, at some time settled on the coast in question in the area of modern Kiyiköy, and who, for one reason or another, later left it. The limited size of this group of people and the fact that Xenophon calls them simply Thracians (without additional definition – millet eaters, mountaineers, etc.) allows one to assume that they were part of a larger tribal unit, that of the Thyni.

Finally, it is logical to ask why Xenophon never clarifies that the Thracians at Salmydessus were Thyni. After all, there was no significant reason why he could not have gleaned information relating to the name of these Thracians – he was not only a participant in the events he described, but he was also an ally of Seuthes the Odrysian, who, undoubtedly, was well acquainted with the situation in the area, no matter whether Salmydessus was part of his father's *archē*. There is a possible solution – that, unlike for modern scholars, to Xenophon this question was of no particular importance. Instead, he preferred to clarify that the Thracians at Salmydessus plundered castaways and that their neighbours consumed millet, most probably because this information was exotic and would arouse the interest of his readers.

III.1.10. The Piratical Activity of Xenophon's Thracians at Salmydessus

From the references discussed above Xenophon's is the only that provides more detailed information about the piratical activities of the local Thracians and something of the nature of the booty they acquired. According to him, many vessels sailing to the Pontus ran aground and were wrecked at Salmydessus for there were shoals that extended far and wide. The Thracians who dwelled on this coast had boundary stones set up[251] and plundered what was wrecked within their own limits. But in earlier days, before they fixed the boundaries, it was said that in the course of their plundering many of them used to be killed by one another.

In antiquity, the picture described by Xenophon was not something unique – as has already been noted, there were also other stretches of the Pontus dangerous to castaways.[252] The statement that before they erected boundary stones[253] the Thracians used to be killed one another was probably information

[250] BNJ 1 F 166 – Βόρυζα πόλις Περσική, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος Περιηγήσει Εὐρώπης· μετὰ δὲ Βόρυζα πόλις Περσέων, μετὰ δὲ Θυνιάς. According to Fol (1975b: 26–27), in this early period Θυνιάς corresponded to the area of the River Tearus. Against this view see Vasilev 2015: 77–80; 2016: 100.

[251] Cf Dem. XVIII.154. See also Strabo IX.1.6–7.

[252] See n. 75.

[253] According to Porozhanov (2012: 232–233) these were fishing installations unknown to Xenophon.

obtained from the locals (ἔλεγον), and it was not Xenophon's personal conclusion. It is possible that the demarcation of the stretches happened not long before the arrival of Seuthes and the Greeks there, so that the memory of this action might still have been fresh in Xenophon's time. On the other hand, hints about the bad reputation of Salmydessus existed as early as the Strasbourg epodes, which raises the following question: is it not more probable that the decision to set up boundary stones was taken at a much earlier period, and, accordingly, for Xenophon's informants to have had in mind the remote past? In fact, the situation may have been changeable and not a one-off action.

According to Xenophon, at the location where shipwrecks occurred finds were made of a great number of beds and boxes, quantities of written books, and an abundance of other items shipowners would convey in wooden chests. If it is accepted that Xenophon personally saw these objects scattered along the coast, suggesting that they were not plundered (or at least not immediately), and accordingly were not of particular importance to local Thracians. Of course, luxury goods (if any) would immediately find new owners. It is possible that the plunderers might have kept some of the booty for themselves, with the rest being sold off directly, or through private traders,[254] and probably to the Greek *poleis* on the northern coast of the Propontis. It can be assumed that Seuthes, after he had conquered these lands and subjugated the local Thracians, in his capacity as the new master of the place received part of the booty and disposed of it according to his will. What strikes one is that, unlike the author of the Strasbourg Epodes, Xenophon says nothing about any enslavement of the castaways. At the same time, when he writes about the coast of Asia Minor between Byzantium and Heraclea, he does not omit to mention that, according to his anonymous source (λέγονται), the Greek castaways were badly treated by the Thracian Bithyni. The absence of a reference to similar behaviour by the Thracians of Salmydessus does not necessarily mean that their treatment of unfortunate castaways was any different: it seems highly unlikely that the plunderers satisfied themselves only with the possessions of the survivors and then would let them go free.

III.2. Diodorus

In his description of the fate of the Greeks after the battle of Cunaxa, Diodorus says as follows:

> Diod. XIV.37.1–3 (Vogel) – Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῶν ἐστρατευμένων μετὰ Κύρου καὶ διασωθέντων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τινὲς μὲν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι στρατιωτικὸν εἰθισμένοι ζῆν βίον, καὶ σχεδὸν ὄντες πεντακισχίλιοι, στρατηγὸν αὑτῶν εἵλαντο Ξενοφῶντα. [2] ὃς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὥρμησε πολεμήσων Θρᾷκας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν οἰκοῦντας· οὗτος δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Πόντου, παρεκτείνων δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ πλεῖστα ποιεῖ ναυάγια. [3] οἱ μὲν οὖν Θρᾷκες εἰώθεισαν περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ἐφεδρεύοντες τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν ἐμπόρων αἰχμαλωτίζειν· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν μετὰ τῶν συνηθροισμένων στρατιωτῶν ἐμβαλὼν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν κωμῶν ἐνέπρησεν·

Obviously, in their greater part these lines represent a free retelling of Xenophon's report.[255] For instance, according to Diodorus, the local Thracians seized the surviving merchants as prisoners, a detail that is absent from the *Anabasis*. Apart from that, Diodorus informs the reader of the Greeks' success in battle over the Thracians and of the burning of their villages; he mentions nothing about Seuthes' role in these events. It seems, in the first case, that he embellished Xenophon's account, perhaps using the

[254] Cf Xen. *Anab.* VII.3.10, 5.1–2, 4–5, 6.41, 7.56. For such practices, as far as Greek armies are concerned, see O'Connor 2015: 197–203, and n. 101 for Xen. *Anab.* VII.7.56.

[255] See also Porozhanov 2012: 234–235; Vasilev 2021: 671. Diodorus' account reveals another layer of information not obtained from Xenophon. On this, see Vasilev 2021: 671.

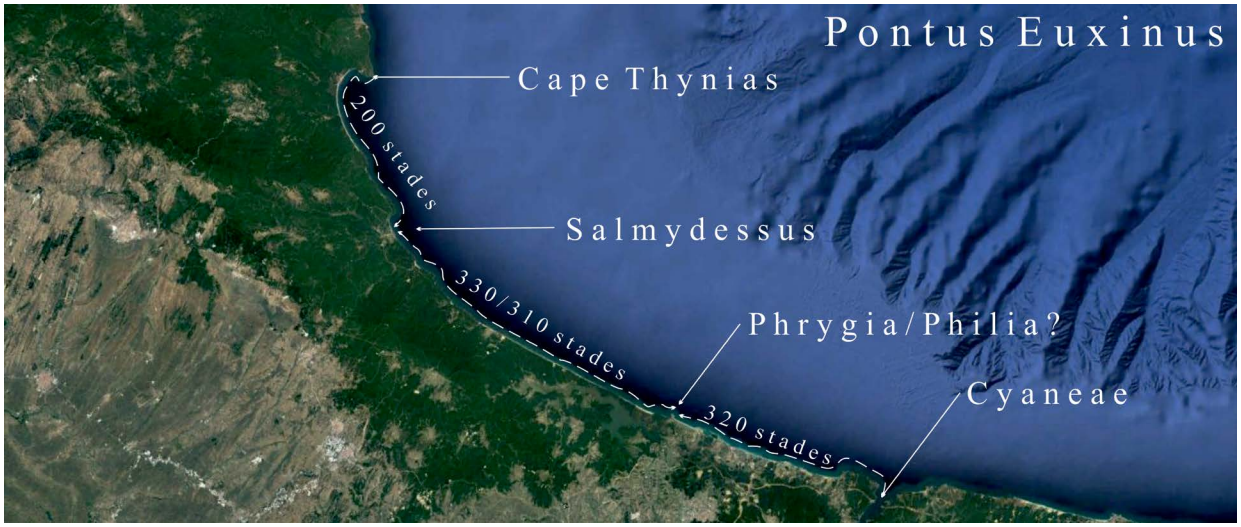

Figure 13: The south-west Pontus according to Periplus Ponti Euxini *and anonymous* Periplus Ponti Euxini. *(Created by the author, map data ©Google)*

earlier authors who mention the capture of Greek castaways at Salmydessus.[256] In the second, Diodorus probably mixed Xenophon's account of the burning of the Thyni villages with the campaign against the Thracians at Salmydessus.[257] More important for the present study is that Diodorus followed Xenophon, i.e. in this case, too, we are dealing with another reference to the Thyni.

III.3. *Periplus Ponti Euxini*

The Thracians at Salmydessus are also noted in a *Periplus* of the Pontus Euxinus (**Figure 13**), which has been ascribed to Arrian as early as late Antiquity.[258] And while some scholars agree that he was its author, and date its composition during his governorship of Cappadocia (*c.* AD 131–138), others question Arrian's authorship and date the *Periplus* to the end of the 2nd century AD.[259] In any event, the *Periplus* records as follows:

Arr. *Peripl. P. Eux.* 37 (GGM I.401); 25.1–3 (Liddle)

> Ἀπὸ δὲ Θυνιάδος εἰς Σαλμυδησσὸν στάδιοι διακόσιοι. Τούτου τοῦ χωρίου μνήμην πεποίηται Ξενοφῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ μέχρι τούτου λέγει τὴν στρατιὰν ἐλθεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἧς αὐτὸς ἡγήσατο, ὅτε τὰ τελευταῖα σὺν Σεύθῃ τῷ Θρᾳκὶ ἐστράτευσε. Καὶ περὶ τῆς ἁλιμενότητος τοῦ χωρίου πολλὰ ἀνέγραψεν, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἐκπίπτει τὰ πλοῖα χειμῶνι βιαζόμενα, καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ πρόσχωροι ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ναυαγίων ἐν σφίσι διαμάχονται. Ἀπὸ δὲ Σαλμυδησσοῦ εἰς Φρυγίαν στάδιοι τριάκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. Ἐνθένδε ἐπὶ Κυανέας εἴκοσι καὶ τριακόσιοι.

With the exception of the first and the last two sentences, these lines represent a retelling of Xenophon's account. It is summarised relatively correctly with two variances. First, Xenophon mentions nothing about the harbourless nature of the coast. Second, according to the *Periplus*, the ships were driven onto the coast by storms (ἐνταῦθα ἐκπίπτει τὰ πλοῖα χειμῶνι βιαζόμενα), whereas the *Anabasis* mentions

[256] Cf. the Strasbourg Epodes (section IV).
[257] Xen. *Anab.* VII.4.1–5.14.
[258] St. Byz. Ἀψίλαι, ἔθνος Σκυθικὸν γειτνιάζον Λαζοῖς, ὡς Ἀρριανὸς ἐν περίπλῳ τοῦ Εὐξείνου πόντου. Cf. Arr. *Peripl. P. Eux.* 15 (GGM I.379); 11.3 (Liddle).
[259] See a summary of the discussion by Liddle 2003: 26–32.

only shoals. Clearly in the second case the author of the *Periplus* is freely retelling what Xenophon has said. It is quite possible that the same holds true for the first case, but the statement about the lack of harbours (καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀλιμενότητος τοῦ χωρίου) is specific, and its connection to Xenophon's account appears problematic. Therefore, one should not reject the possibility that in this case we are dealing with a certain carelessness, i.e. it is possible that the author mixed the information obtained from Xenophon with that furnished by another source. As for the Thracians at Salmydessus, the source for the description of their piratical activities was certainly Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Therefore they were Thyni.

III.4. Anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*

This anonymous *Periplus* (**Figure 13**), usually dated from the first third of the 4th/second half of the 6th century AD,[260] has this to say:

Anon. *Peripl. P. Eux*. 88–90 (Diller 1952: 137); GGM I.88–90 (421–422)

> (a) Ἀπὸ δὲ Θυνιάδος εἰς Ἁλμυδισσὸν σταδ σ̄ μιλ κ̄ς̄ cs΄. τούτου τοῦ χωρίου μνήμην ποιεῖται Ξενοφῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ μέχρι τούτου λέγει τὴν στρατείαν ἐλθεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἧς αὐτὸς ἡγήσατο ὅτε τὰ τελευταῖα σὺν Σεύθῃ τῷ Θρᾳκὶ ἐστράτευσεν. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀλιμενότητος τοῦ χωρίου πολλὰ ἀνέγραψεν, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἐκπίπτει τὰ πλοῖα χειμῶνι βιαζόμενα, καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ πρόσχωροι ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ναυαγίων ἐν σφίσιν διαμάχονται. (b) οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἁλμυδισσὸς αἰγιαλὸς ἐφ' ἑπτακόσια στάδια τεναγώδης ἄγαν καὶ δυσπρόσορμος ἀλίμενός τε παντελῶς παρατέταται, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐχθρότατος τόπος. (c) Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἁλμυδισσοῦ εἰς Φρυγίαν τὴν καὶ λεγομένην Φιλίαν, [καὶ] Βυζαντίων χωρίον καὶ ἀκρωτήριον, σταδ τ̄ῑ μιλ μ̄ᾱ γ΄. Ἀπὸ δὲ Φρυγίας τῆς Φιλέας εἰς Κυανέας ἤτοι Κύλας σταδ τ̄κ̄ μιλ μ̄β̄ cs΄.

Given the information they provide, these lines can provisionally be divided into three parts: a, b, and c. The first[261] is almost identical with the data from the *Periplus* ascribed to Arrian. An exception is the spelling of Salmydessus and the conversion of the stades into miles. Thus, one can establish the following connection: anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*–*Periplus Ponti Euxini*–Xenophon. Obviously, here, again we are dealing with Thyni.

[260] See a summary of the discussion by Diller 1952: 109–113.

[261] For the other parts, see Vasilev 2021: 676.

IV. The Strasbourg Epodes

The Strasbourg Epodes represent three fragments whose authorship remains debatable. The second consists of three lines that contain a few scattered words that do not offer much in the way of general conclusions. As for the others, some scholars believe that they came from the pen of Archilochus, others attribute them to Hipponax, and still others hold the opinion that the first was Archilochus', whereas the third is from Hipponax. It is also assumed that the epodes were composed by Anacreon, or by later authors who imitated the style of Archilochus and Hipponax.[262]

IV.1. The First Epode

The Thracians at Salmydessus are only mentioned in the first epode, which reads as follows:

Degani F 194

. [
η[
π . [ ]ν[. . .] . . . . [
κύμ[ατι] πλα[ζόμ]ενος·
κἀν Σαλμυδ[ησσ]ῷ̣ι γυμνὸν εὐφρονέ̣ῳ̣ς̣[ατα
Θρήϊκες ἀκρό[κ]ομοι
λάβοιεν – ἔνθ<α πόλλ'> ἀναπλήσει κακὰ
δούλιον ἄρτον ἔδων –
ῥίγει πεπηγότ' αὐτόν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χν<ό>ου
φυκία πόλλ' ἐπ̣ιχ<έ>οι,
κροτέοι δ' ὀδόντας, ὡς [κ]ύ̣ων ἐπὶ στόμα
κείμενος ἀκρασίηι
ἄκρον παρὰ ῥηγμῖνα κυμα[. . . . . ·
ταῦτ' ἐθέλοιμ' ἄ̣ν ἰδεῖ̣ν,
ὅς μ' ἠδίκησε, λ̣[ὰ]ξ δ' ἐφ' ὁρκίοισ' ἔβη,
τὸ πρίν ἑταῖρος [ἐ]ώ̣ν.

The poem represents a curse placed by the author on his former friend, who broke his promise. He is cursed to be thrown on the coast at Salmydessus, where the Thracians ἀκρόκομοι may seize him for their pleasure and he may endure a multitude of woes, eating the bread of a slave. Most probably the author did have in mind an actual coast of Salmydessus,[263] but it is not possible to estimate how far in his view the coast stretched.

[262] Different opinions are cited by Diehl 1952: 34, app. crit.; Kirkwood 1961; Degani 1991: 168, app. crit.
[263] On this, see Vasilev 2021: 662.

Figure 14: An appliqué from the Letnitsa Treasure.
(RHM Lovech no. 585, reproduced with permission)

IV.2. The Thracians ἀκρόκομοι

Who were these Thracians ἀκρόκομοι who captured the survivors and abused them? And can the epithet ἀκρόκομοι give an answer to this question? The scholiast explains its meaning: οἱ ἄκρ[...]ς κομῶντες.[264] His explanation can be confirmed by the hairstyle of the horseman depicted in one of the appliqués from the Letnitsa Treasure connected with the epithet in question (**Figure 14**).[265] The Thracians ἀκρόκομοι – with hair on crown[266] – are also mentioned in the *Iliad*: these were the *hetairoi* of the Thracian warlord Peiros of Aenus.[267] It appears that a similar hairstyle was characteristic of the Abantes that held Euboea,[268] as well as of the rich Athenians living before the time of Thucydides.[269] Therefore, the epithet ἀκρόκομοι cannot be solely connected with one particular tribe and cannot serve as evidence for the identification of the Thracians mentioned in the epode with some of those Thracians encountered later at Salmydessus.

In such a case, the only possibility for an identification of the Thracians mentioned in the epode entirely depends on the dating of the poem. If its author were a Hellenistic imitator, then, depending on the precise dating, they could be Astae. Most scholars, however, share the opinion that the curse came from

[264] Schol. F 79 vers. 4 (Diehl 1952: 34); Schol. F 194: 6 (Degani 1991: 169). See also the reconstruction of the scholium offered by Diehl (1910: 4 – Schol. 2 vers. 4 οἱ ἄκρ[ω]ς κομῶ[ν]τες (Cf. Reitzenstein 1899: 859, n. 4)) and criticised by Masson 1951: 432 – 'Au dessus du vers 4, ἀκρῶς semble trop court pour les traces, ἀκρ[...]ς.' See also Hesychius' explanation (Schmidt): ἀκρόκομοι· τὰ ἄκρα τῆς κεφαλῆς κομῶντες. See also *Et. Magn.* (Gaisford) Ἀκρόκομοι Θρήϊκες: Ἤτοι ἀκειρόκομοι· ἢ ἄκρως κομῶντες, τουτέστι μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων κομῶντες, ἢ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν κεφαλῶν κομῶντες, ἢ οἱ συμμέτρως τοῦ κομᾶν ἔχοντες.

[265] Stronk 1986–1987: 66–67; 1995: 245; Porozhanov 2012: 226–227. See also Boshnakova 2000: 8–9.

[266] Liddell and Scott 1996: 56.

[267] Hom. *Il.* IV.520, 532–533.

[268] Hom. *Il.* II.536–545; Schol. Hom. *Il.* 542 (Dindorf 1877: 140) – Ἀγχέμαχος ὁ Εὐβοεύς φησι τοὺς Κούρητας ἐν Χαλκίδι οἰκῆσαι· συνεχῶς δὲ τοῖς ἀστυγείτοσιν ἐπολέμουν. ἐπεὶ δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι τῆς κόμης ἁπτόμενοι κατέσπων αὐτοὺς, ὀπισθοκόμους γενέσθαι φησὶ, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν κείρεσθαι· διὸ καὶ Κούρητας ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς κληθῆναί φησιν.

[269] Thuc. I.6.3. See also Plut. *Thes.* 5.1.

the pen of Archilochus, or Hipponax. If one takes into consideration the datings of Archilochus' ἀκμή,[270] as well as those of Hipponax[271] and Anacreon,[272] then this will be the earliest information in our sources for the great dangers potentially facing sailors off Salmydessus in the 7th and 6th centuries BC. This dating points towards the Thracian Thyni. To conclude whether or not they were the Thracians referred to in the epode then it is necessary to investigate the evidence that directly or indirectly mentions the Thyni as people from Europe and Asia Minor before the beginning of the 4th century BC, as well as the evidence dealing with their migration from the one continent to the other.

IV.3. Thyni in Europe, Thyni in Asia

What follows offers our evidence of the early presence of the Thyni in both Europe and Asia. The references of Herodotus and Xenophon will serve as a foundation, as they provide the earliest information presenting the Thyni as a real tribe peopling both continents. After that, other references will be discussed – those that serve as evidence of the presence of Thyni in Europe and Asia in the period from the very end of the 8th to the first half of the 5th century BC.

IV.3.1. Xenophon

As has become clear above, Xenophon mentions the Thyni in connection with the events that happened in south-eastern Thrace in 400/399 BC. His account leaves the reader with the impression that at that time the Thyni were a real tribe who peopled lands situated in what is now the Turkish part of Thrace. However, Xenophon mentions them in reference to earlier events as well. Retelling what Seuthes told him, he explains that some time ago the Melanditae, Thyni, and Tranipsae were under the authority of his father Maesades. This reference is important, as Seuthes himself makes a distinction between the Thracians subject to Maesades, i.e. the name Thyni was not only in use among the Greeks, but also among the Thracians. Xenophon also states that, in the past, Teres, an ancestor of Seuthes, although having a large army, was defeated in this region by the Thyni and lost many of his troops and the baggage train.[273] Obviously he is referring to Teres I, the founder of the Odrysian kingdom. Unfortunately, Xenophon does not quote his source, but one can judge from the reference that in his view the Thyni were a tribe living in this area at least from the time of Teres, i.e. at least several decades before 400/399 BC.

IV.3.2. Herodotus

Herodotus mentions nothing about the European Thyni,[274] but notes the Asiatic group, although only once. He explains that, with the exception of the Cilicians and the Lycians, all those west of the River

[270] Jacoby 1941: 107 – 'the poet was a young man about 652 B.C.' Lavelle 2002: 351 – 'From the information they could gather, the Alexandrians concluded that Archilochus was a well-known poet and mature man circa 664/3 B.C.E: obviously there was nothing in their researches to suggest otherwise.'

[271] Degani T 1–3. In his *Chronicle*, Eusebius notes Hipponax under the year 688/687 BC: *Hipponax notissimus redditur* (Degani T 6). T 5 connects his name with the 29th Olympiad (664–661 BC), and T 4 states that he was a contemporary of Terpander. Degani (1991: 2, note on TT - 5–6) believes that in both cases Hipponax's name was given by mistake instead of Archilochus' (see also T 4 and note on T 4). As for T 6 (Degani 1991), Jacoby (1904: 171) points out: 'das datum ist aus dem synchronismus mit Archilochos entstanden, muss aber alt sein, da es bereits von Plutarch. de mus. 6 p. 1133d widerlegt wird'.

[272] Hdt. III.121.1; Lucian *Macr.* 26; Suid. Ἀνακρέων.

[273] Xen. *Anab.* VII.2.22.

[274] Herodotus could have mentioned the European Thyni in connection with Darius' march through south-eastern Thrace; yet from the tribes to the south of Haemus he notes (Hdt. IV.93.1) only the Skyrmiadai, Nipsaei, and the Thracians at Salmydessus. However, these were all tribes living close to the coast and, more precisely, within the hinterland of the Greek cities, and Herodotus could easily have gained the necessary information about them. It appears that as far as the tribes occupying the interior are concerned, he knew neither when they were conquered by the Persians, nor how they behaved during Darius'

Halys, including the Thracian Thyni and Bithyni, were under the authority of Croesus, the Lydian king.[275] If this information reflected reality, and not simply a list of those living in the lands to the west of the Halys during Herodotus' time,[276] then this means that the Thyni had been in Asia at least since 546 BC, which was the traditional date of the end of Croesus' reign. Herodotus' information can be confirmed, up to a point, by Stephanus of Byzantium, who locates in Bithynia a *chorion* Ἀλύαττα, named after Alyattes who ruled the place.[277] Probably he refers to the Lydian king Alyattes, the father of Croesus, i.e. Bithynia may have been conquered by the Lydians before 560 BC. But, as Meyer points out,[278] Livy knew about a fortress (*castra*) Alyatti which was not in Bithynia, but on the border between Phrygia and Galatia,[279] which raises the question whether Stephanus' reference can serve as a confirmation of the information provided by Herodotus.[280]

IV.3.3. Hecataeus

Further early evidence that can be connected with the Thyni is the fragment from Hecataeus, already discussed above – Βόρυζα πόλις Περσική, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος Περιηγήσει Εὐρώπης· μετὰ δὲ Βόρυζα πόλις Περσέων, μετὰ δὲ Θυνιάς.[281] Most probably here Hecataeus is referring to Cape Thynias (modern Cape Igneada), well known to later authors.[282] What is important for the present study is that, *c.* 500 BC, the European toponym Thynias was already known to Greek authors. If the toponym acquired its name from the European Thyni, then this will mean that they peopled South-East Europe at least from the end of the 6th century BC onwards.

IV.3.4. Scholia on Argonautica

In two different codices containing scholia on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* the following references to Hesiod and Pherecydes appear:

Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II.181 (Keil 399 – ex cod. Laurent.)

> ὅτι δὲ ἦρχεν ὁ Φινεὺς μέχρι τοῦ Βοσπόρου Θρᾳκῶν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ (εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι Βιθυνοί τε καὶ Παφλαγόνες) Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ ϛ̄ φησί. πεπηρῶσθαι δὲ Φινέα φησὶν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Μεγάλαις Ἠοίαις, ὅτι Φρίξῳ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμήνυσεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ γ̄ Καταλόγων, ἐπειδὴ τὸν μακρὸν χρόνον τῆς ὄψεως προέκρινεν. παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ φασι γενέσθαι Μαριανδυνὸν καὶ Θυνόν, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Θυνοῦ Θυνηίδα, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαριανδυνοῦ Μαριανδυνίαν προσαγορευθῆναι λέγουσιν.

campaign against the Scythians (see also Vasilev 2015: 51). That being so, it is possible that Herodotus did not mention the Thyni, as, at the time he was gathering his information, they lived in the interior. Another variant is also possible, i.e. that the Thyni were identical with the anonymous Thracians at Salmydessus, but, for one reason or another, Herodotus does not mention their name. In any event, Herodotus' silence cannot be an argument that there were no Thyni in Europe at the end of the 6th and during the 5th century BC.

[275] Hdt. I.28.1 – χρόνου δὲ ἐπιγενομένου καὶ κατεστραμμένων σχεδὸν πάντων τῶν ἐντὸς Ἅλυος ποταμοῦ οἰκημένων· πλὴν γὰρ Κιλίκων καὶ Λυκίων τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας ὑπ' ἑωυτῷ εἶχε καταστρεψάμενος ὁ Κροῖσος· εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε, Λυδοί, Φρύγες, Μυσοί, Μαριανδυνοί, Χάλυβες, Παφλαγόνες, Θρήικες οἱ Θυνοί τε καὶ Βιθυνοί, Κᾶρες, Ἴωνες, Δωριέες, Αἰολέες, Πάμφυλοι·

[276] Cf. Hdt. III.90.1–2 and VII.72.1–77.1, where Herodotus notes tribes living to the west of the Halys, who are not mentioned in I.28.1.

[277] St. Byz. Ἀλύαττα, χωρίον Βιθυνίας, ἀπὸ Ἀλυάττου κρατήσαντος τὸν τόπον.

[278] Meyer 1897: col. 515.4–11.

[279] Liv. XXXVIII.18.3 – Ducere inde exercitum consul ad Plitendum; deinde ad Alyattos castra posita.

[280] According to Gabelko (2005: 93, n. 3), it remains unclear whether Livy and Stephanus of Byzantium had in mind one and the same, or two different toponyms.

[281] BNJ 1 F 166.

[282] Vasilev 2015: 77–80; 2016: 100.

Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II.178–182 (Schaefer 136 – ex cod. Paris.)

> Ἡσίοδος μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἠοίαις πεπηρῶσθαι φησὶ αὐτὸν, διὰ τὸ δεῖξαι Φρίξῳ τὴν εἰς Σκυθίαν ὁδόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ γ̄ τῶν Καταλόγων, διὰ τὸ ζωὴν μακρὰν ὄψεως μᾶλλον ἑλέσθαι. Φερεκύδες δέ φησι ἐν τῇ ς̄, ὅτι Φινεὺς πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Θρακῶν ἐβασίλευσε μέχρι Βοσπόρου· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ Θυννοὶ καὶ Παφλαγόνες. Ἔνιοι δὲ ἀπίθανον οἴονται τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἐζηκέναι Φινέα, ὥστε τοῦ Φοίνικος ὄντα υἱὸν μέχρι τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν διαρκέσαι. Ἕτερον οὖν φασὶ τοῦτον τὸν Φινέα τοῦ παλαιοῦ Φινέως, ἕβδομον ὄντα ἀπὸ Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος. Παῖδας δέ φησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Ἡσίοδος δύο, Θυννὸν καὶ Μαριανδυνόν. Καὶ παρὰ μὲν Θυννοῦ Θυννίδα, παρὰ δὲ Μαριανδυνοῦ Μαριανδυνίαν φασὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι.

The scholium from L refers to three questions connected with Phineus. Initially the scholiast explains that all Asiatic Thracians as far as the Bosporus were under Phineus' authority and that these Thracians were Bithyni and Paphlagonians. Here he cites Pherecydes. After that, basing his information on two different works of Hesiod the scholiast gives two reasons why Phineus was blinded: according to *Megalai Ehoiai*, because he disclosed the way to Phrixus, whereas, according to Book 3 of the *Catalogue*, it was because he preferred a long lifetime to sight. Finally, the scholiast points out that they say (φασί) that Phineus' children were Mariandynos and Thynos, and that Thyneida was a name from Thynos and Mariandynia from Mariandynos.

In its entirety, the scholium from P is more voluminous and contains additional information on Phineus, which is not important for the present study. The lines quoted above start with the reason for Phineus' blindness. Here, too, the differences between both works of Hesiod are noted, but in this case the scholiast cites *Ehoiai* and the *Catalogue*. Next, he continues with Pherecydes, who stated that Phineus ruled over all the Thracians in Asia as far as the Bosporus and adds that they were Thyni and Paphlagonians. This is followed by the information, which is not important for this present study. He continues with the statement that, according to Hesiod, Thynus and Mariandinus were Phineus' children. Finally, the scholiast points out that they say (φασί) that Thynida was a name from Thynos and Mariandynia from Mariandynos.

These scholia pose a number difficult questions regarding the references to the works of Hesiod and Pherecydes, and to the location of the Thyni, which they mention. In the case of Pherecydes, two things stand out. First, it is not clear whether he mentions the Thyni with their ethnonym. The answer is rather negative – because of the difference between the names of the ethnonyms enumerated in the two codices it is possible that the information on who the Thracians ruled by Phineus were (Bithyni and Paphlagonians, or Thyni and Paphlagonians) does not appear in Pherecydes, but is simply an addition on the part of the scholiasts. The expression they use also points to this conclusion – εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι Βιθυνοί τε καὶ Παφλαγόνες (L) and οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ Θυννοὶ καὶ Παφλαγόνες (P).

Second, it is not clear whether the statement in L that Mariandynus and Thynus were Phineus' children referred to Hesiod and Pherecydes. Yet, if it is accepted that φασί referred to them precisely, and was not used impersonally, then this will mean, according to the scholiast, that Hesiod and Pherecydes knew of the existence of the Thyni and mentioned them under the name of their eponym. Pherecydes is an author who flourished during the first half of the 5th century BC and his reference can be defined as early. However, the data he provides on the Thyni does not differ from that ascribed to Hesiod in L. It seems that Pherecydes simply followed the earlier tradition, irrespective of its primary source.

The case with Hesiod is far more complicated. P explicitly names him as the author who states that Thynus and Mariandynus are the sons of Phineus. And although in the two scholia three of his works are listed – the *Catalogue* (L, P), *Megalai Ehoiai* (L) and *Ehoiai* (P) – it does not become clear in which one,

or ones, Thynus was mentioned. An additional problem is the endless debate whether the three titles were titles of three, two, or even one work, and, more importantly, whether the author of this work (or works) was really Hesiod – some scholars believe that the *Catalogue* was not Hesiodic and date it from the 6th century BC, or even from the second half of the same century.[283] Therefore, the evidence that Thynus and Marandynus were Phineus' sons can be dated from the broad chronological framework between the very end of the 8th to the second half of the 6th century BC. It is important to note that even if the latest date (the second half of the 6th century) is accepted, this will be the earliest evidence of the Thyni, albeit in the form of their eponym Thynus.

Separate and important for this present study is the question of whether the scholia referred to Thyni from Asia or Europe. The statement that Thynus and Mariandynus were brothers, and that Phineus was their father, seems key. Obviously, it reflected the geographical proximity between Thyni and Mariandyni. But proximity in Asia or in Europe? Since the Thyni were noted on both continents in a relatively early period, it seems that the solution to this question is the location of the Mariandyni.

Ancient authors repeatedly mention the Mariandyni.[284] It seems that they all localise them in Asia. Only Strabo cautiously speaks about migration from Europe into Asia. In VII.3.2 he lists a number of Thracian (in his view) tribes who quitted Europe entirely (τελέως) and settled in Asia. Although he is hesitant, (δοκῶ) he includes in this group the Mariandyni as well.[285] In Book 12 he pays special attention to the Mariandyni. Strabo points out that there was no information who they were and whence they came, and explains that there was no difference in dialect or otherwise; they were similar to the Bithyni. This allows him to conclude that the Mariandyni were Thracians.[286] From what Strabo himself says it turns out that he had no information on any migration by the Marinadyni from Europe to Asia. This was his own conclusion, based mostly on the similarity of the dialect spoken by Mariandyni and Bithyni, which allowed him to conclude that the former were Thracians who came from Europe a long time ago. In support of this view is Venedikov's idea that the name of the Mariandyni shows their origin. According to him, it consists of two parts – Marii, who were a local tribe, and Thyni (= dyni) who came from Thrace.[287]

But even if it is accepted that the Mariandyni were Thracians who left Europe entirely (because of Strabo's τελέως and because of the absence of other evidence of them in Europe), their migration must have happened in a relatively early period, since, even if one ignores their mention in the *Argonautica*, which made them inhabitants of Asia before the Trojan War,[288] then there is evidence of their presence in Asia during the first half of the 6th century BC,[289] or even during the 7th century BC, if it is assumed that there was a real chronological connection in the statement that Cymer was the father

[283] See for example West 1985: 130–137.

[284] See the evidence of the Mariandyni and their eponym by Ruge 1930; Scherling 1930.

[285] Strabo VII.3.2 (Radt 2003) – Οἱ τοίνυν Ἕλληνες τοὺς Γέτας Θρᾷκας ὑπελάμβανον. ᾤκουν δ' ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ Ἴστρου καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Μυσοί, Θρᾷκες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί, οὓς νῦν Μοισοὺς καλοῦσιν· ἀφ' ὧν ὡρμήθησαν καὶ οἱ νῦν μεταξὺ Λυδῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Τρώων οἰκοῦντες Μυσοί (καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Φρύγες Βρίγες εἰσί, Θρᾴκιόν τι ἔθνος, καθάπερ καὶ Μυγδόνες καὶ Βέβρυκες καὶ Μαιδοβιθυνοὶ καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Θυνοί, δοκῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μαριανδυνούς· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τελέως ἐκλελοίπασι πάντες τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ Μυσοὶ συνέμειναν).

[286] Strabo XII.3.4 (Radt 2004) – Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται. τοὺς δὲ Μαριανδυνοὺς καὶ τοὺς Καύκωνας οὐχ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες λέγουσι. τὴν γὰρ δὴ Ἡράκλειαν ἐν τοῖς Μαριανδυνοῖς ἱδρῦσθαί φασι Μιλησίων κτίσμα, τίνες δὲ καὶ πόθεν, οὐδενὶ εἴρηται· οὐδὲ διάλεκτος <δ'> οὐδ' ἄλλη διαφορὰ ἐθνικὴ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φαίνεται, παραπλήσιοι δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς. ἔοικεν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο Θρᾴκιον ὑπάρξαι τὸ φῦλον.

[287] Venedikov 1982: 104. The Thracian origin of the Mariandyni is also supported by Texier 1862: 49; Fol 1980b: 8–9 and Porozhanov 2012: 193–194.

[288] Apoll. Rhod. II. 140, 352, 723, 748, 753.

[289] Hdt. I.28.1; Strabo XII.3.4.

of Mariandynos.[290] Therefore, the possibility that the information from the scholia ascribed to Hesiod reflects the presumed European location of the Mariandyni seems insignificant. Moreover, it should be noted that Herodotus separates the Mariandyni from the Asiatic Thracians,[291] which questions the whole construction of Strabo. Can we resolve the contradiction between the sources without rejecting any of them? A possible solution is that, over the course of time, the Mariandyni, who were Asians and not Thracians, were largely assimilated by the Bithyni.[292] This variant implies that the Mariandyni were an Asiatic tribe who had never peopled Europe.

Does this mean that the reference ascribed by the scholiasts to Hesiod puts in Asia not only the Mariandyni (no matter whether they were or were not Thracians) but also the Thyni? According to Porozhanov this was not the case. He points to the fact that Thynus and Mariandynus were Phineus' sons and reaches the conclusion that the Greeks thought that during the 8th and 7th centuries BC (he obviously assumes that the evidence was Hesiodic) Phineus' residence was at the mouth of the Pontus, and between the European Thyni and the Asiatic Mariandyni.[293] This is an elegant solution which brings to the fore the personality of Phineus, around whose possessions the lands of the two tribes were, while the geographical proximity between them takes second place. In favour of such solution is the situation presented in the *Argonautica*, where the Thyni were in Europe before the Trojan War and were connected with Phineus.[294] If this were not an innovation of Apollonius Rhodius, based at least partly on later political appearance of the Thyni in Europe (in Xenophon's time?), then it remains a possibility that he partly reflected the tradition presented in the works of some of the earlier mythographers and genealogists and in some of the works ascribed to Hesiod. But if mythology (Phineus and his possessions) is sifted out, only the geographical proximity remains, which rather points to proximity by land, i.e. in Asia. The question remains open for further discussion.

IV.4. Migration of Thyni from Europe into Asia

There is much information about migrations of Thracians, or tribes considered in antiquity as Thracians, from Asia into Europe and vice versa.[295] Some ancient authors note the migration of the Thyni – Strabo, Pliny the Elder, and Porphyry. It is at least possible that Claudius Claudianus also speaks about their migration.

IV.4.1. Strabo

Strabo twice raises the question. At the beginning of VII.3.2 he discusses the Thracian origin and the location of the Getae and the Mysians. Next, he lists other tribes which, in his view, had Thracian origin: Phrygians, who according to him were Bryges, Mygdones, Bebryces, Maedobithyni, Bithyni, Thyni,

[290] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II.723, 780 (Keil).

[291] Hdt. III.90.2 – ἀπὸ δὲ Ἑλλησποντίων τῶν ἐπὶ δεξιὰ ἐσπλέοντι καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Θρηίκων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ καὶ Παφλαγόνων καὶ Μαριανδυνῶν καὶ Συρίων ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριηκόσια τάλαντα ἦν φόρος· νομὸς τρίτος οὗτος. See also I.28.1 and VII.72.1–2, 75.1–2. See also Ps.-Scyl. 91–92.1 (Shipley).

[292] According to Gabelko (2005: 89–90), despite the enmity between the Mariandyni and the Bithyni (citing Apoll. Rhod. II.135–141, 752), the possibility that there was a mutual ethnic influence and subsequent assimilation of the Mariandyni should not be rejected.

[293] Porozhanov 2011b: 100–101; 2012: 197. For the localisation of Phineus, see Ziegler 1941: col. 222.29–225.44; Porozhanov 2011b: 99–106; 2012: 196–214.

[294] Apoll. Rhod. II.529. According to Gantz (1993: 350), Apollonius Rhodius places the meeting between Phineus and the Argonauts 'in Bithynia, on the south coast' (obviously in Asia). The poem (Apoll. Rhod. II.176–178), however, refers to the coast opposite the Bithynian lands, which should be the European coast – ἤματι δ' ἄλλῳ ἀντιπέρην γαίῃ Βιθυνίδι πείσματ' ἀνῆψαν. ἔνθα δ' ἐπάκτιον οἶκον Ἀγηνορίδης ἔχε Φινεύς . . .

[295] For these migrations, see Venedikov 1982: 74–98; Gabelko 2005: 57–82; Porozhanov 2012: 118–125.

and Mariandyni. In the end, he explains that, with the exception of the Mysians, they all quit Europe entirely.[296]

In XII.3.3 he states that the Bithyni (obviously the inhabitants of the Asiatic district Bithynia) were formerly Mysians who later received their name (Bithyni) from the Bithyni and Thyni who settled in this land, and that most (authors?) agreed with this. The proofs he provides of this statement imply that he speaks about a migration from Europe: there still existed in Thrace people called, or formerly called,[297] Bithyni or Maedobithyni,[298] and remnants of the Thyni was in the name Cape Thynias, which was near Apollonia and Salmydessus. He adds that in his view (ὡς εἰκάζω ἐγώ) the Bebryces were Thracians who settled in Mysia before the others. In the end, he reminds his readers that the Μυσοί themselves were colonists of the Thracians, who in his time were called Μοισοί.[299]

Obviously, Strabo follows the concept that Asiatic Thracians came from Europe. Of particular importance is his statement that most (authors?) agreed (ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ τῶν πλείστων) about the name of the Bithyni – they were formerly Mysians who later received their name (Bithyni) from the Bithyni and Thyni who arrived in their lands – and that they (the same authors?) advanced as a proof of the migration of the two tribes the Bithyni (or Maedobithyni) in Thrace and Cape Thynias near Apollonia and Salmydessus. Therefore, there were authors before Strabo who noted the migration of the Thyni. It remains unknown who they were, but since their argument for the existence of European Thyni was only in the name Cape Thynias and not the Thyni themselves, then one can assume that these were authors from the Hellenistic age, when the ethnonym of the European Thyni had already faded away.

It is also important to note the statement in VII.3.2 that Phrygians, Mygdones, Bebryces, Maedobithyni, Bithyni, Thyni, as well as Mariandyni, left Europe entirely (τελέως), as the Mysians alone remained. It is not clear who Strabo's source was. It is possible that this was Strabo's own view based on evidence he found in different authors. However, because of the similarity in Pliny (see ***IV.4.2***) it seems more probable that Strabo followed only one source (at least in the case with Phrygians, Mysians, and Bithyni). It is possible that this was Posidonius, whose opinion about the location of the Mysians is given by Strabo right after that, or Artemidorus of Ephesus,[300] who was the earlier author to note the migration of the Mysians.[301] In any case, Strabo could not speak about a full-scaled migration of the Thyni before the events described by Xenophon. The problem is that there is no information at all for a later migration. For this reason, it can be assumed that Strabo (or his source) accepted the disappearance of the ethnonym in Thrace[302] as a sign that the entire tribe of the Thyni resettled in Asia.

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[296] Strabo VII.3.2 (Radt 2003) – Οἱ τοίνυν Ἕλληνες τοὺς Γέτας Θρᾷκας ὑπελάμβανον. ᾤκουν δ' ἐφ' ἑκάτερα τοῦ Ἴστρου καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Μυσοί, Θρᾷκες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί, οὓς νῦν Μοισοὺς καλοῦσιν· ἀφ' ὧν ὡρμήθησαν καὶ οἱ νῦν μεταξὺ Λυδῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Τρώων οἰκοῦντες Μυσοί (καὶ αὐτοὶ δ' οἱ Φρύγες Βρίγες εἰσί, Θρᾴκιόν τι ἔθνος, καθάπερ καὶ Μυγδόνες καὶ Βέβρυκες καὶ Μαιδοβιθυνοὶ καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Θυνοί, δοκῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μαριανδυνούς· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τελέως ἐκλελοίπασι πάντες τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ Μυσοὶ συνέμειναν).

[297] P[a] reads π . λ . . βιθυνους, which according to Aly is πάλαι Βιθυνούς (Radt 2004: 424, app. crit. 31).

[298] According to Radt (2008: 349), the palimpsest reads μαιδοβιθυνους, whereas in all later manuscripts βιθυνους. See also Radt 2004: 424, app. crit. 31.

[299] Strabo XII.3.3 (Radt 2004) – Οἱ μὲν οὖν Βιθυνοὶ διότι πρότερον Μυσοὶ ὄντες μετωνομάσθησαν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν τῶν ἐποικησάντων, Βιθυνῶν τε καὶ Θυνῶν, ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ τῶν πλείστων, καὶ σημεῖα τίθενται τοῦ μὲν Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους τὸ μέχρι νῦν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ λέγεσθαί τινας Μαιδοβιθύνους (Βιθυνούς see Radt 2004: 424 app. crit. 31), τοῦ δὲ τῶν Θυνῶν τὴν Θυνιάδα ἀκτὴν τὴν πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίᾳ καὶ Σαλμυδησσῷ. καὶ οἱ Βέβρυκες δὲ οἱ τούτων προεποικήσαντες τὴν Μυσίαν Θρᾷκες, ὡς εἰκάζω ἐγώ. εἴρηται δ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Μυσοὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἄποικοί εἰσι τῶν νῦν λεγομένων Μοισῶν.

[300] For such a possibility, see Radt 2008: 426. See also Papazoglu 1969: 305–306.

[301] Stiehle F 131 = Strabo XII.8.1.

[302] Pliny (*NH* IV.41 Detlefsen) and Solinus (10.7 – Mommsen 1864: 75–76), who followed him, knew about Thyni in Europe. The reference is thought to have been an anachronism (Delev 2010: 102), which is not impossible, since for Book 4 of the *Natural History* Pliny (*NH* I. Libr. IV Cont.) used Xenophon, the author who spoke about the Thyni most. But even if it were not an anachronism, the fading of the ethnonym in Thrace was a fact.

It also cannot pass unnoticed that there is discrepancy between the two passages. While VII.3.2 refers to the entire resettlement of the Maedobithyni and Bithyni in Asia, XII.3.3 states that even in Strabo's time (or in his sources' time) there were some in Thrace who were called (or were formerly called) Bithyni (or Maedobithyni). The second casts doubt on the statement from VII.3.2. Therefore, the Thyni may not have quit Europe entirely. Over the course of time their ethnonym simply petered out, and for this reason some later authors reached the conclusion of a full-scale migration, which in their view explained the absence of Thyni from Thrace.

IV.4.2. Pliny

In his description of Phrygia, Pliny states that according to some authors Mysi, Phrygians, and Bithyni received their names from three groups who came from Europe – Moeses, Bryges, and Thyni:

Pliny *NH* V.145 (Detlefsen)

> Sunt auctores transisse ex Europa Moesos et Brygos et Thynos (tinos, DER), a quibus appellentur Mysi, Phrygis, Bithyni.

What Pliny says strikingly resembles the information available in the two passages discussed above (Strabo VII.3.2 and XII.3.3). Strabo, however, is not quoted as a source for the *Natural History*, which means that Pliny used another author. In the list of authors used for Books 4 and 5, Pliny mentions two of the potential sources of Strabo – Posidonius and Artemidorus. Given the similarity between Pliny's and Strabo's reports it can be assumed that Pliny also used one of them. The fact that he does not explicitly state that the three tribes left Europe entirely is hardly an obstacle since: 1) it is possible that Strabo and Pliny, given their aims, extracted in a different way the information available in their suggested common source; 2) Pliny also mentions nothing about a partial migration, i.e. he might have had in mind a full-scale migration, but simply did not explicitly mention it; 3) even if Pliny's reference was an anachronism, he knew about Thyni in Thrace, i.e. it is possible that the common primary source noted the full-scale migration, but Pliny ignored this evidence at the expense of the information on the European Thyni; 4) for reasons discussed above, Strabo may have been the author who initiated the statement that the Thyni left Europe entirely, i.e. it may not have been available in the common primary source and, accordingly, it was not noted by Pliny.

IV.4.3. Porphyry

In his comments on the *Iliad* Porphyry mentions the migration of the Thyni and the Bithyni. He discusses in brief the old debate whether in the beginning of Book 13 of the *Iliad* Homer spoke about the European or Asiatic Mysians.[303] At the end, he states that the Thyni and Bithyni who lived in Asia were colonists of the Thracians:

Porph. ad *Il.* XIII.3 (MacPhail 2011: 286 – Epitomai N 3)

> [1] εἰς τὸ *αὐτὸς δὲ πάλιν τρέπεν ὅσσε φαεινώ*. ἀδύνατόν φασιν· εἰ γὰρ ἀπετράπη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰλίου ἐπὶ τὴν Μυσίαν κατὰ τὰ τῆς Ἀσίας ἔθνη, ἀδύνατον τὴν Θρᾴκην καθορᾶν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ. λύεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς λέξεως· [2] οὐ γὰρ λέγει τὴν Θρᾴκην αὐτὸν βλέπειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Θρᾳκῶν γῆν, ἧς ἦσαν ἄποικοι, κατοικοῦντες δὲ Ἀσίαν, Βιθυνοί τε καὶ οἱ Θυνοί, Θρᾳκῶν ἄποικοι.

[303] Cf. Strabo VII.3.2.

The statement provides no new information, neither on the migration nor the origin of the Thyni or Bithyni. Porphyry's source is unknown.

IV.4.4. Claudius Claudianus

In Book 2 of his poem *Against Eutropius* Claudianus provides a short historical-geographical account of Phrygia. He explains that in ancient times the people who lived there were called Phrygians, but after Meon's rule they became known as Meoni. Next, that the shores of the Aegean Sea were settled by the Greeks and that the Thracian Thyni cultivated Bithynia. Finally, that a large Celtic army recently invaded the country:

Claudian. *In Eutrop*. II. (XX). 242–249 (Platnauer 1990: 202)

gens una fuere
tot quondam populi, priscum cognomen et unum
appellata Phryges; sed (quid non longa valebit
permutare dies?) dicti post Maeona regem
Maeones. Aegaeos insedit Graecia portus;
Thyni Thraces arant quae nunc Bithynia fertur;
nuper ab Oceano Gallorum exercitus ingens
illis ante vagus tandem regionibus haesit

Claudianus does not state explicitly that the Thyni came from Thrace,[304] but only that the Thracian Thyni cultivated Bithynia – *Thyni Thrace arant*.[305] The context (the Greeks settled and the Celts invaded), however, allows us to assume, that according to Claudianus, the Thyni were aliens who settled in Bithynia and cultivated its land. The text certainly follows a chronological order, as it explicitly notes that the Celtic invasion happened recently (*nuper*). Therefore, Claudianus dates the activities of the Thyni in Bithynia before 278/77 BC (when the first Celtic troops crossed over to Asia), sometime during the period of the Greek colonisation of the Aegean coast, or shortly after. But since we are dealing with a poem, and, what is more, one composed at the very end of the 4th century AD, it is too risky to draw concrete conclusions about the chronology of the Thynian presence in Bithynia. This is confirmed by the dating of the Celtic invasion, which Claudianus defines as recent (*nuper*) – the author wrote nearly 700 years after the event.

IV.5. Were the Thracians from the Epode Thyni?

From what has been said so far about the Thracians from the epode, it can be concluded that even before Hecataeus' time the European Thyni were already in the area of Salmydessus, where Cape Thynias was to be found. It is possible that, at some point,[306] some of them resettled in Asia. Those who stayed in Europe were mentioned by Xenophon and probably by Hecataeus (in the form of the toponym). How

[304] See, however, Platnauer 1990: 203 – 'and the Thyni from Thrace cultivated the region now called Bithynia'.
[305] Cf. Verg. *A*. III.14 – Thraces arant; Stat. *Theb*. V.53 – Thraces arant.
[306] Scholars date differently the supposed migration of the Thyni into Asia: at the time of the migration of the Mysians along with the Bithyni (Mihailov 1991: 604–605), *c.* the 10th century BC, along with the Bithyni (Gabelko 2005: 81–82). According to Spiridonov (Fol, Spiridonov 1983: 83), the migration was in the opposite direction – the Thyni crossed over to Europe together with the Mysians and the Teucri.

does this reconstruction add to the possibility that the Thracians from the first epode were Thyni? If it is accepted that the epode came from the pen of Hipponax, then it is highly likely that the Thracians mentioned in it were Thyni, since he wrote only a few decades before Hecataeus. If the epode were composed by Archilochus then the identification of the Thracians from the epode with the Thyni is less likely, but still possible.

V. Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*

Two of the scholia in question derive from L and the third from P; they run as follows:

Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II.347 (Keil 408–409 – ex cod. Laurent.)

> ἡ γὰρ Βιθυνία, ὡς προείρηται, περὶ τὸν Βόσπορόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Σαλμυδησσὸς Θρᾳκῶν ἀγρίων.

Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II.348 (Keil 409 – ex cod. Laurent.)

> λέγοι δ' ἂν τοῦ Σαλμυδησσοῦ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ περὶ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν κατοικοῦντες Θρᾷκες ἐπιτιθέμενοι διήρπαζον τοὺς παραπλέοντας.

Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II.347 (Schaefer 152 – ex cod. Paris.)

> Κατῴκουν δὲ περὶ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν οἱ ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Θρακῶν, οἵτινες ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοῖς παραπλέουσιν τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἐλυμαίνοντο. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν συμβουλεύει αὐτοῖς φυλαττομένοις τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν πλέειν τοὺς ῥηγμῖνας καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς τῆς Βιθυνίας.

The scholia state that the Thracians at Salmydessus were savage (L 347 and P), and that they lay in wait and plundered the ships sailing along the coast (L 348 and P). In P there is a warning to sail cautiously along the rocky shores of Salmydessus and Bithynia. Unfortunately, nothing is said about the origin of the Thracian plunderers. The answer to this question entirely depends on the dating of the information in the scholia. At the end of L the names of three authors, probably the main sources of the scholiast, are listed: παράκειται τὰ σχόλια ἐκ τῶν Λουκίλλου Ταρραίου καὶ Σοφοκλέους καὶ Θέωνος.[307] The first is certainly Lucillus Tarrhaeus, who is believed to have lived in the middle of the 1st century AD.[308] In the *lemma* Τάρρα Stephanus of Byzantium states that Lucillus was the author of Περὶ παροιμιῶν, Περὶ γραμμάτων and Τεχνικὰ γλαφυρώτατα, while in Θεσσαλονίκη of Περὶ Θεσσαλονίκης.[309] The second is identified with Sophocles (*c.* 2nd century AD) for whom almost nothing is known except that he wrote commentaries on the *Argonautica*.[310] It is supposed that the third was identical with the grammarian Theon (1st century BC – 1st century AD), from whose pen came commentaries on the *Odyssey*, Pindar, Callimachus, Lycophron, Theocritus, the *Argonautica*, etc.[311] Because of the enumeration of their names it is possible that one of them was the source of the scholiast for Salmydessus. If this is the case, and if one takes into consideration the period in which they worked (1st century BC – 2nd century AD), then it can be assumed that the scholia refer to the Astae. However, the question remains open for further discussion for several reasons: 1) it has been noted above (***II.3.6***) that the upper chronological limit of the Astaen presence at Salmydessus is fluid, and the only certain thing is that the Astae plundered castaways along the coast in question during the first half of the 2nd century BC, i.e. it is unclear whether they also did this in the period 1st century BC – 2nd century AD; 2) the scholiast may well have obtained his information from one of the three authors, but it is not clear who its primary source was

[307] Keil 1854: 532.15–16.
[308] See the discussion by Gudeman 1927a: col. 1785.47–1787.35. For him, see also Matthaios 2015: 231–233.
[309] FHG IV (Lucillus Tarrhaeus) 440–441.
[310] St. Byz. Κάναστρον. For Sophocles, see Gudeman 1927b.
[311] For him, see Wendel 1934; Montana 2015: 178–180; Matthaios 2015: 213–216.

(it was hardly information from 1st century BC – 2nd century AD). Depending on who he was they may have been Thyni or Astae; 3) the scholia quote other commentators on Apollonius Rhodius' works as well – Chares[312] and Ereinaios,[313] i.e. it is possible, albeit less likely, that the information on Salmydessus was obtained from an author other than Luccilus, Sophocles, or Theon.

[312] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. II.1052 (Keil).
[313] Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I.1299, II.127, 1015 (Keil).

VI. Dionysius of Byzantium

Some scholars date Dionysius' Ἀνάπλους τοῦ Βοσπόρου to the second half of the 2nd century AD, more precisely, before the destruction of Byzantium by Septimius Severus (AD 195–196), but there are authors who date it to the middle or end of the 3rd century AD.[314] Unfortunately, that part of the work where the plunderers at Salmydessus were mentioned is lost. There is only a Latin translation by Petrus Gillius (AD 1490–1555), which runs as follows:

GGM II.57–58 (F 48)

> In summo vertice collis, secundum quem descendit Chrysorrhoas, existit Timaea, turris admodum excelsa, circumspecta et permulto mari illustris, ad salutem navigantium excitata. Utraque enim Ponti pars caret portubus naves excipientibus. Nam maris insedati et turbulenti littus longum in neutram continentem flexiones habet. Ex hac turre faces ardentes noctu sublatae perferebantur, rectae viae ad Ponti ostium duces. At barbari verarum facium fidem auferebant, praetendentes ex Salmydessi littoribus fraudulentas faces, ut in errorem nautas inducerent, in naufragiaque subducerent. Ora enim maritima importuosa est, et maris vadum ob excessum aquarum ancoris non firmum, et paratum his, qui aberrarunt a recta via, naufragium, signis veris confusis cum falsis significationibus. Jam vero lucernam extinxit tempus omnia consumens, et turrim magna ex parte dissolvit.

The lines devoted to Salmydessus can be provisionally divided into two parts. The first contains the characteristics of Salmydessus well known from previous authors. According to Gillius' translation, Dionysius stated in his *anaplus* that the two coasts of the Pontus near the Bosporus were harbourless, there were no gulfs and sea was rough. Next, he added that because of the shoals there the seabed was unreliable for anchorage and that shipwrecks happened. The second states that at the top of the hill from which Chrisoroas descended there was a high tower called Thimea, where torches burning during the night were put, which pointed out the accurate direction towards the Pontic mouth. But the barbarians at Salmydessus lit false torches along the coast, thus deceiving sailors and wrecking their ships. Dionysius adds at the end that the tower was already in ruins and did not function.

In Gillius's translation there is no information who the plunderers at Salmydessus were. Moreover, unlike the authors discussed above Dionysius did not speak about Thracians, but only about barbarians. Nonetheless, it can be assumed that he had in mind Thracians who plundered the castaways at the so-called 'False Bosporus' (**Figure 15**), i.e. at the mouth of Lake Terkoz (**Figure 16**),[315] a place that could hardly have been considered as attractive to foreign settlers. It is hard to say who these Thracians were. The answer depends on the dating of Dionysius' information.

The first element of our information gives the standard description of Salmydessus known from earlier authors.[316] Dionysius might have been acquainted with their works and, accordingly, he might have used them. It should not be forgotten, however, that he was originally from Byzantium, or at least he

[314] GGM II.V–VI.

[315] Vasilev 2021: 676.

[316] For the description of Salmydessus as an inhospitable and a dangerous coast, see the evidence in Vasilev 2021.

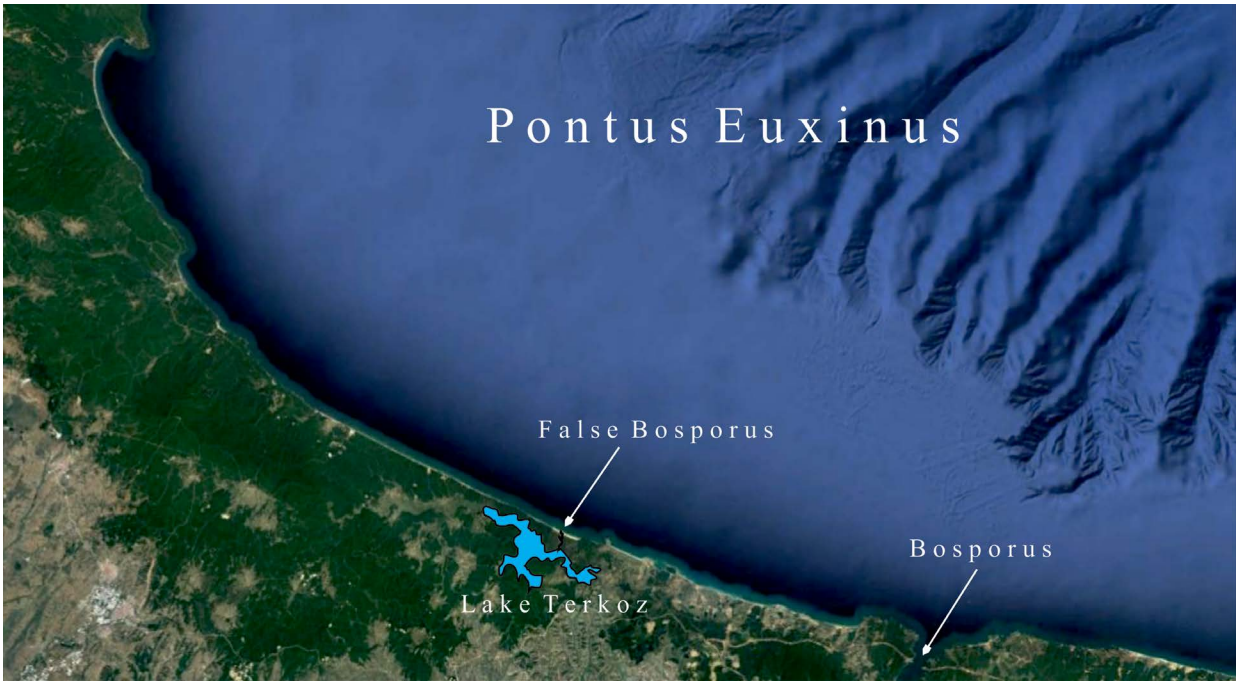

Figure 15: The Bosporus and the 'False Bosporus'.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

Figure 16: A view from the south-eastern coast of Lake Terkoz, near the Village of Terkoz.
(photo: author).

had been living there for a long time.[317] This may mean that even if he had no knowledge of the works of earlier authors, he was most probably familiar with the nature of sailing along Salmydessus, with all its concomitant difficulties. In favour of this view is the second element of our information, which refers to the tower called Thimea, and the fact that Dionysius knew that it did not function and was in ruins, as

[317] St. Byz. Χρυσόπολις . . . Διονύσιος δ' ὁ Βυζάντιος τὸν ἀνάπλουν τοῦ Βοσπόρου γράφων . . . Suid. Διονύσιος Βυζάντιος ἐποποιὸς περιήγησιν τοῦ ἐν τῷ Βοσπόρῳ ἀνάπλου.

well as the tale of the false torches of the barbarians. The last ('praetendentes ex Salmydessi littoribus fraudulentas faces') is unique evidence and it is possible that it was based on ancient stories told in Byzantium. Miller, however, poses the question was it not possible for the tower to have been destroyed during the destruction of the *polis* by Septimius Severus (AD 195–196)?[318] If this were the case, then it would not only mean that Dionysius wrote after the event in question, but also that, under certain conditions (if he wrote immediately after that), this specific form of pirate activity was still practised during his own time and ceased after the destruction of the tower. In support of this conclusion, one can point out that a toponym named Thimea was noted in *Tabula Peutingeriana*. According to the map, it was situated twenty Roman miles from Philias and twelve from Sycas.[319] Nonetheless, one can only guess for how long and when exactly the tower functioned, and, accordingly, in which period the locals occupied themselves in this form of pirate activity Dionysius describes. The lack of earlier evidence of the tower, and mostly of the use of torches by the pirates, points towards the period of Roman power over the area (after AD 45). This late date (especially if the evidence was gained firsthand in some way) does not allow one to draw categorical conclusions as to the origin of the barbarians mentioned by Dionysius, for example whether they were Astae.

[318] Miller 1916: col. 515 – 'zu Dionysius' Zeiten halbzerstört (unter Septimius Severus?)'.
[319] Miller 1916: col. 515.

VII. The Geographical Features of Salmydessus as a Factor for Piratical Activity Through the Centuries

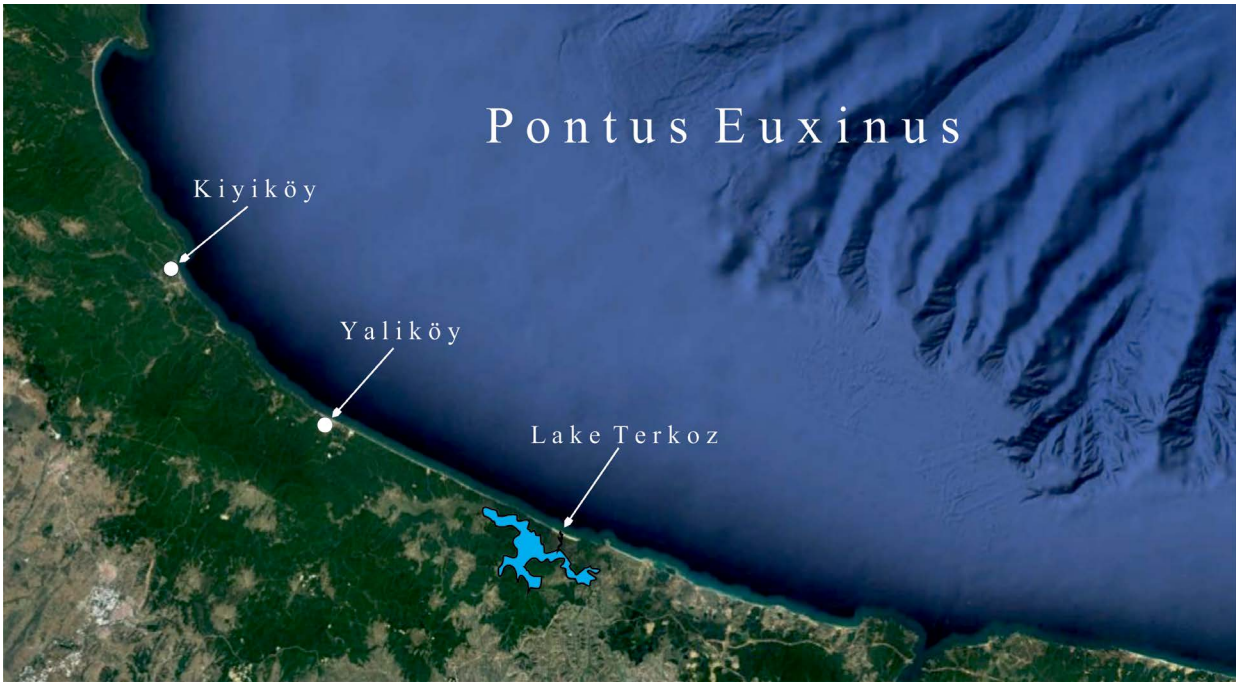

Figure 17: Lake Terkoz, Yaliköy and Kiyiköy.
(Created by the author, map data ©Google)

From the references discussed above it is clear that in antiquity Salmydessus was extremely inhospitable for sailors, both because of the dangerous shoals and the likelihood of castaways being plundered by Thracian pirates. The fact that the references cover an 800-year period shows that the piratical activity at Salmydessus was not an episodic phenomenon related to the actions of a definite ethnic group at a definite period in time. Moreover, the plunder of castaways at Salmydessus was not limited only to antiquity. In the 17th century AD, when Evliya Celebi visited the south-western coast of the Pontus, there were at least two places in that area dangerous for navigation: the coast around the fortress of Terkoz, and Demirci Burnu, a pointed cape between Lake Terkoz and modern Kiyik**öy** (Salmydessus). The Ottoman explorer reported that at Demirci Burnu a village existed, whose inhabitants plundered the castaways. He localised the cape west of Lake Terkoz and it appears that it must have been situated somewhere between the modern villages of Yaliköy and Kiyiköy (**Figure 17**).[320] It seems logical to expect that whoever controlled Salmydessus would engage in piracy – its geography invited it.

[320] Kahraman 2010: 184–186.

VIII. Conclusions

The present study has tried to identify those who plundered castaways at Salmydessus in antiquity. Towards that end all the available references have been divided into five sections (sections II–VI in the text) depending on the period to which they refer.

Section II deals with the reference by Strabo – the only author to mention the name of the pirates at Salmydessus, i.e. the Astae. The analysis of the information provided by ancient authors on the Astae has demonstrated that: the Astae placed Salmydessus under their control only after 218–211 BC, or, if one accepts an earlier date, then it would certainly be after Lysimachus' death (281 BC); and that, in one way or another, all available references to the ethnonym Astae can be connected to Polybius' *Histories*; finally, the upper chronological limit of Astaean presence at Salmydessus remains fluid, as the only thing certain is that the Astae plundered castaways during the first half of the 2nd century BC.

Section III focuses on Xenophon, Diodorus, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, and the anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*. The information provided by Section III is based on Xenophon's account and, accordingly, refers to one and the same anonymous Thracians and their piratical activity at Salmydessus in 400/399 BC. After analysing the available data, it has been suggested that these Thracians represented a small Thynian community, who, in search of a livelihood, at some time settled on the Salmydessian coast, in the area of modern Kiyiköy, and later left it for some reason. Xenophon did not deem it necessary to mention that they were Thyni, since this was of no particular import to him.

Section IV discusses the so-called Strasbourg Epodes, the first of which provides the earliest information on the Thracians at Salmydessus and the way they treated castaways there. The epode probably came from the pen of either Archilochus or Hipponax. If it was composed by Hipponax, and if the Cape Thynias mentioned by Hecataeus received its name from the European Thyni, then it is highly likely that the Thracians from the epode were Thyni. If the epode was a work of Archilochus, their identification with the Thyni becomes less likely, but still possible.

Section V includes three scholia on Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*. The scholiast probably obtained his information from one among Lucillus Tarrhaeus, Sophocles, and Theon, whose names he listed in the end of Cod. Laurent. However, the primary source remains unknow (it was hardly information from the 1st century BC – 2nd century AD when the three authors worked). Depending on who he was the plunderers at Salmydessus mentioned in the scholia may have been Thyni or Astae.

Section VI studies the reference of Dionysius of Byzantium, whose work is dated from the second half of the 2nd to the end of the 3rd century AD. He furnished specific information on the way the barbarians at Salmydessus captured the ships sailing along the coast. It is possible that it is referring to the period of Roman power over the area (after AD 45). The late date does not allow categorical conclusions as to the origin of the barbarians mentioned by Dionysius, for example whether they were Astae.

To put it very succinctly, the present study has demonstrated that the Thracians who plundered castaways at Salmydessus in the period from the 7th/6th century BC to at least 400/399 BC were probably Thyni, while those who perpetrated similar activities at the end of the 3rd (after 218–211 BC) and beginning of the 2nd century BC were Astae.

Appendix: Principal Sources Discussed in the Text

Anonymous *Periplus Ponti Euxini*

88–90 (Diller 1952: 137) = GGM I.88–90 (421–422)

> (a) Ἀπὸ δὲ Θυνιάδος εἰς Ἀλμυδισσὸν σταδ σ̄ μιλ κ̄ς̄ cs′. τούτου τοῦ χωρίου μνήμην ποιεῖται Ξενοφῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ μέχρι τούτου λέγει τὴν στρατείαν ἐλθεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἧς αὐτὸς ἡγήσατο ὅτε τὰ τελευταῖα σὺν Σεύθῃ τῷ Θρᾳκὶ ἐστράτευσεν. καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀλιμενότητος τοῦ χωρίου πολλὰ ἀνέγραψεν, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἐκπίπτει τὰ πλοῖα χειμῶνι βιαζόμενα, καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ πρόσχωροι ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ναυαγίων ἐν σφίσιν διαμάχονται. (b) οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ἀλμυδισσὸς αἰγιαλὸς ἐφ' ἑπτακόσια στάδια τεναγώδης ἄγαν καὶ δυσπρόσορμος ἀλίμενός τε παντελῶς παρατέταται, ταῖς ναυσὶν ἐχθρότατος τόπος. (c) Ἀπὸ δὲ Ἀλμυδισσοῦ εἰς Φρυγίαν τὴν καὶ λεγομένην Φιλίαν, [καὶ] Βυζαντίων χωρίον καὶ ἀκρωτήριον, σταδ τ̄ῑ μιλ μ̄ᾱ γ′. Ἀπὸ δὲ Φρυγίας τῆς Φιλέας εἰς Κυανέας ἤτοι Κύλας σταδ τ̄κ̄ μιλ μ̄β̄ cs′.

Arrian

Peripl. P. Eux. 37 (GGM I.401) = 25.1–3 (Liddle)

> Ἀπὸ δὲ Θυνιάδος εἰς Σαλμυδησσὸν στάδιοι διακόσιοι. Τούτου τοῦ χωρίου μνήμην πεποίηται Ξενοφῶν ὁ πρεσβύτερος, καὶ μέχρι τούτου λέγει τὴν στρατιὰν ἐλθεῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἧς αὐτὸς ἡγήσατο, ὅτε τὰ τελευταῖα σὺν Σεύθῃ τῷ Θρᾳκὶ ἐστράτευσε. Καὶ περὶ τῆς ἀλιμενότητος τοῦ χωρίου πολλὰ ἀνέγραψεν, ὅτι ἐνταῦθα ἐκπίπτει τὰ πλοῖα χειμῶνι βιαζόμενα, καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ πρόσχωροι ὅτι ὑπὲρ τῶν ναυαγίων ἐν σφίσι διαμάχονται. Ἀπὸ δὲ Σαλμυδησσοῦ εἰς Φρυγίαν στάδιοι τριάκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι. Ἐνθένδε ἐπὶ Κυανέας εἴκοσι καὶ τριακόσιοι.

Diodorus of Sicily

XIV.37.1–3 (Vogel)

> Περὶ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον τῶν ἐστρατευμένων μετὰ Κύρου καὶ διασωθέντων εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τινὲς μὲν εἰς τὰς ἰδίας πατρίδας ἀπηλλάγησαν, οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι στρατιωτικὸν εἰθισμένοι ζῆν βίον, καὶ σχεδὸν ὄντες πεντακισχίλιοι, στρατηγὸν αὑτῶν εἵλαντο Ξενοφῶντα. [2] ὃς ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ὥρμησε πολεμήσων Θρᾷκας τοὺς περὶ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν οἰκοῦντας· οὗτος δ' ἔστι μὲν ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ Πόντου, παρεκτείνων δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ πλεῖστα ποιεῖ ναυάγια. [3] οἱ μὲν οὖν Θρᾷκες εἰώθεισαν περὶ τούτους τοὺς τόπους ἐφεδρεύοντες τοὺς ἐκπίπτοντας τῶν ἐμπόρων αἰχμαλωτίζειν· ὁ δὲ Ξενοφῶν μετὰ τῶν συνηθροισμένων στρατιωτῶν ἐμβαλὼν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν χώραν μάχῃ τε ἐνίκησε καὶ τὰς πλείστας τῶν κωμῶν ἐνέπρησεν·

Dionysius of Byzantium

GGM II.57–58 (F 48)

> In summo vertice collis, secundum quem descendit Chrysorrhoas, existit Timaea, turris admodum excelsa, circumspecta et permulto mari illustris, ad salutem navigantium excitata. Utraque enim Ponti pars caret portubus naves excipientibus. Nam maris insedati et turbulenti littus longum in neutram continentem flexiones habet. Ex hac turre faces ardentes noctu sublatae perferebantur, rectae viae ad Ponti ostium duces. At barbari verarum facium fidem auferebant, praetendentes ex Salmydessi littoribus fraudulentas faces, ut in errorem nautas inducerent, in naufragiaque subducerent. Ora enim maritima importuosa est, et maris vadum ob excessum aquarum ancoris non firmum, et paratum his, qui aberrarunt a recta via, naufragium, signis veris confusis cum falsis significationibus. Jam vero lucernam extinxit tempus omnia consumens, et turrim magna ex parte dissolvit.

Hecataeus

BNJ 1 F 166

> Βόρυζα πόλις Περσική, ὡς Ἑκαταῖος Περιηγήσει Εὐρώπης· μετὰ δὲ Βόρυζα πόλις Περσέων, μετὰ δὲ Θυνιάς.

Herodotus

IV.93.1 (Hude 1927)

> οἱ μὲν γὰρ δὴ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἔχοντες Θρήικες καὶ ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίης τε καὶ Μεσαμβρίης πόλιος οἰκημένοι, καλεύμενοι δὲ Σκυρμιάδαι (Κυρμιάναι A B C P) καὶ Νιψαῖοι (Μυψαῖοι A B C P), ἀμαχητὶ σφέας αὐτοὺς παρέδοσαν Δαρείῳ·

Inscriptions

IGBulg I² 307

1 -
- - - - - - - - - ṭo̯ịs Σαδαλαι ὥς κα δυνα-
[τὸν τ]ᾰ́χιστα· στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτὸν χρυς[έ]-
[ωι] στεφάνωι εὐε[ρ]γέταν ἐόντα τᾶς πόλιος
5 Διονυσίοις ἐν τῶι θεάτρωι· δεδόσθαι δὲ αὐ-

τῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις πολιτείαν καὶ προξενίαν
καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν καὶ εἴσπλουν
καὶ ἔκπλουν ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεί· στεφα-
νοῦσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυ-
τὸν στεφάνωι στατήρων πεντήκοντα·
τὸν δὲ ταμίαν τὸν ὅρκον καὶ τὰς ὁμολογία[ς]
γράψαντα εἰς στάλαν λιθίναν κοῖλα γράμ-
ματα ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλ-
λωνος παρὰ τὰς στάλας τῶμ προγόνων
Μοψυηστιος καὶ Ταρουτινου καὶ Μηδιστᾳ
καὶ Κοτυος.

vacat

Ὁμολογία Σαδαλα καὶ Μεσσαμβριανῶν·
αἳ τινές κα ἐκπίπτωντι Μεσσαμβριανῶν
[ποτὶ τ]ᾲὴ Σαδαλα, ἀποδιδόντες τῶν ναύλ-
[λων- - - - - στα]ṭ̣ῆ̣ῤᾳ̣ς καὶ ἡμ̣ι̣στάτηρο-
[ν - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

IGBulg^{2} 312

Ἔδοξε τᾶι βουλᾶι καὶ τῶι δάμ[ωι· - -]
. ων Μαντιθέου εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ Δε . . (.)
της Δηζου Ἀστὰς φίλος ἐὼν καὶ εὔνο[υς]
διατελεῖ τᾶι πόλει καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν τοῖς
ἐντυγχάνουσι χρήσιμον ἑαυτὸν πα-
ρέχεται, δεδόχθαι τᾶι βουλᾶι καὶ τῶι δάμωι
δεδόσθαι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν,
πολιτείαν, ἰσοτέλειαν πάντων καὶ πο-
λέμου καὶ εἰράνας ἀσυλεὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεὶ
καὶ ἔφοδον ἐπὶ τὰν βουλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶ-
μον πράτοις μετὰ τὰ ἱερά, τὸν δὲ ταμί-
αν ἀναγράψαντα τὸ ψάφισμα τοῦτο
εἰς τελαμῶνα λευκοῦ λίθου ἀνα-
θέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.

IGBulg^{2} 388

[Ἔδοξε τῶι δάμωι· ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -ο]ὺ εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ
[ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος -]. ας τᾶς ἐπιμα-
[χίας -]ς καὶ τεταγμέ-
[νος στραταγὸς - Ἀν]τιόχου ἐπ' Ἀ-
[πολλωνιάταις - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ]ποτὶ τὸν δᾶ-
[μον - εἰσβαλό]ντων δὲ πο-
[λεμίων -χ]ώραν ἐγβοά-
[θησε - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - καὶ εὐεργέτας καὶ ἀνὴρ καλ]ὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸ-
[ς γεγένηται -]δεδόχθαι τῶι
[δάμωι ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δ. ἐπὶ τᾶι εὐνοίαι καὶ τᾶι? προαιρ]έσει, ἂν ἔ-
[χων διατελεῖ εἰς τὸν δᾶμον, καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσέ]ῳ στεφάνῳ
[- ἐπὶ τᾶς ἐ]χφορᾶς ταν
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Ps.-Scymnus

728–730 (Marcotte)

> Εἶτ’ εὐλίμενος ἄκρα συνάπτει Θυνιάς,
> τῆς Ἀστικῆς Θρᾴκης ὑπάρχουσ’ ἐσχάτη,
> μεθ’ ἣν πόλις ἐστὶ σύνορος Ἀπολλωνία·

Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius’ *Argonautica*

II.181 (Keil 399 – ex cod. Laurent.)

> ὅτι δὲ ἦρχεν ὁ Φινεὺς μέχρι τοῦ Βοσπόρου Θρᾳκῶν πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ασίᾳ (εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι Βιθυνοί τε καὶ Παφλαγόνες) Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ ϛ̄ φησί. πεπηρῶσθαι δὲ Φινέα φησὶν Ἡσίοδος ἐν Μεγάλαις Ἠοίαις, ὅτι Φρίξῳ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμήνυσεν, ἐν δὲ τῷ γ̄ Καταλόγων, ἐπειδὴ τὸν μακρὸν χρόνον τῆς ὄψεως προέκρινεν. παῖδας δὲ αὐτοῦ φασι γενέσθαι Μαριανδυνὸν καὶ Θυνόν, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Θυνοῦ Θυνηίδα, ἀπὸ δὲ Μαριανδυνοῦ Μαριανδυνίαν προσαγορευθῆναι λέγουσιν.

II.178–182 (Schaefer 136 – ex cod. Paris.)

> Ἡσίοδος μὲν ἐν ταῖς Ἠοίαις πεπηρῶσθαι φησὶ αὐτὸν, διὰ τὸ δεῖξαι Φρίξῳ τὴν εἰς Σκυθίαν ὁδόν· ἐν δὲ τῷ γ̄ τῶν Καταλόγων, διὰ τὸ ζωὴν μακρὰν ὄψεως μᾶλλον ἑλέσθαι. Φερεκύδες δέ φησι ἐν τῇ ϛ̄, ὅτι Φινεὺς πάντων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ Θρακῶν ἐβασίλευσε μέχρι Βοσπόρου· οὗτοι δ’ εἰσὶ Θυννοὶ καὶ Παφλαγόνες. Ἔνιοι δὲ ἀπίθανον οἴονται τοσαῦτα ἔτη ἐζηκέναι Φινέα, ὥστε τοῦ Φοίνικος ὄντα υἱὸν μέχρι τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν διαρκέσαι. Ἕτερον οὖν φασὶ τοῦτον τὸν Φινέα τοῦ παλαιοῦ Φινέως, ἕβδομον ὄντα ἀπὸ Φοίνικος τοῦ Ἀγήνορος. Παῖδας δέ φησιν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι Ἡσίοδος δύο, Θυννὸν καὶ Μαριανδυνόν. Καὶ παρὰ μὲν Θυννοῦ Θυννίδα, παρὰ δὲ Μαριανδυνοῦ Μαριανδυνίαν φασὶ προσαγορεύεσθαι.

II.347 (Keil 408–409 – ex cod. Laurent.)

> ἡ γὰρ Βιθυνία, ὡς προείρηται, περὶ τὸν Βόσπορόν ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ, ἐν ἀριστερᾷ δὲ Σαλμυδησσὸς Θρᾳκῶν ἀγρίων.

II.348 (Keil 409 – ex cod. Laurent.)

> λέγοι δ’ ἂν τοῦ Σαλμυδησσοῦ, ἐπειδὴ οἱ περὶ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν κατοικοῦντες Θρᾷκες ἐπιτιθέμενοι διήρπαζον τοὺς παραπλέοντας.

II.347 (Schaefer 152 – ex cod. Paris.)

> Κατῴκουν δὲ περὶ τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν οἱ ἀγριώτεροι τῶν Θρακῶν, οἵτινες ἐπιτιθέμενοι τοῖς παραπλέουσιν τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν ἐλυμαίνοντο. Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν συμβουλεύει αὐτοῖς φυλαττομένοις τὸν Σαλμυδησσὸν πλέειν τοὺς ῥηγμῖνας καὶ τοὺς αἰγιαλοὺς τῆς Βιθυνίας.

Stephanus of Byzantium

Ἀσταί, ἔθνος Θρᾴκης. Ἀρτεμίδωρος ἐν ἐπιτομῇ τῶν ἔνδεκα. τὸ κτητικὸν Ἀστικός καὶ Ἀστική.

Ἀστακός, πόλις Βιθυνίας . . . ἔστι καὶ χώρα Βυζαντίων, ὡς Θεόπομπος ἐν τεσσαρακοστῇ ἑβδόμῃ.

Βιζύη, πόλις Θρᾴκης, τὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν βασίλειον.

Καβύλη, πόλις Θρᾴκης οὐ πόρρω τῆς τῶν Ἀστῶν χώρας. Πολύβιος τρισκαιδεκάτῃ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καβυληνός ὡς Ἀρτακηνός.

Καλύβη, πόλις Θρᾴκης, ἄποικος Μακεδόνων. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Καλυβῖται ἢ Καλυβεῖς, ὡς Ἀλύβης Ἀλυβεῖς.

Λαδεψοί καὶ Τρανιψοί, ἔθνη Θυνῶν (θυνῶν R Q: Βιθυνῶν P N – Billerbeck 2014). Θεόπομπος ὀγδόῳ Ἑλληνικῶν.

Strabo

VII.3.2 (Radt 2003)

Οἱ τοίνυν Ἕλληνες τοὺς Γέτας Θρᾷκας ὑπελάμβανον. ᾤκουν δ’ ἐφ’ ἑκάτερα τοῦ Ἴστρου καὶ οὗτοι καὶ οἱ Μυσοί, Θρᾷκες ὄντες καὶ αὐτοί, οὓς νῦν Μοισοὺς καλοῦσιν· ἀφ’ ὧν ὡρμήθησαν καὶ οἱ νῦν μεταξὺ Λυδῶν καὶ Φρυγῶν καὶ Τρώων οἰκοῦντες Μυσοί (καὶ αὐτοὶ δ’ οἱ Φρύγες Βρίγες εἰσί, Θρᾴκιόν τι ἔθνος, καθάπερ καὶ Μυγδόνες καὶ Βέβρυκες καὶ Μαιδοβιθυνοὶ καὶ Βιθυνοὶ καὶ Θυνοί, δοκῶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς Μαριανδυνούς· οὗτοι μὲν οὖν τελέως ἐκλελοίπασι πάντες τὴν Εὐρώπην, οἱ δὲ Μυσοὶ συνέμειναν).

VII.6.1 (Radt 2003)

Πάλιν δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀπολλωνίας ἐπὶ Κυανέας στάδιοί εἰσι περὶ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους. ἐν δὲ τῷ μεταξὺ ἥ τε Θυνιάς, τῶν Ἀπολλωνιατῶν χώρα, καὶ Φινόπολις καὶ Ἀνδριακή, συνάπτουσαι τῷ Σαλμυδησσῷ· ἔστι δ’ οὗτος ἔρημος αἰγιαλὸς καὶ λιθώδης, ἀλίμενος, ἀναπεπταμένος πολὺς πρὸς τοὺς βορέας, σταδίων ὅσον ἑπτακοσίων μέχρι Κυανεῶν τὸ μῆκος, πρὸς ὃν οἱ ἐκπίπτοντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν διαρπάζονται τῶν ὑπερκειμένων, Θρᾳκίου ἔθνους.

VII.6.2 (Radt 2003)

ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ Βυζαντίου τὸ τῶν Ἀστῶν ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ πόλις Καλύβη, Φιλίππου τοῦ Ἀμύντου τοὺς πονηροτάτους ἐνταῦθα ἱδρύσαντος.

VII. F 20a (Radt 2003)

ἣν ἀφείλοντο Περσέα Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Ψευδοφίλιππον· . . . Γετῶν δὲ βασίλειον ἦν Βιζύης. Ὀδρύσας δὲ καλοῦσιν ἔνιοι πάντας τοὺς ἀπὸ Ἴστρου καὶ Κυψέλων μέχρι Ὀδησσοῦ τῆς παραλίας ὑπεροικοῦντας, ὧν ἐβασίλευσεν Ἀμάδοκος καὶ Κερσοβλέπτης καὶ Βηρισάδης καὶ Σεύθης καὶ Κότυς.

XII.3.3 (Radt 2004)

> Οἱ μὲν οὖν Βιθυνοὶ διότι πρότερον Μυσοὶ ὄντες μετωνομάσθησαν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν Θρᾳκῶν τῶν ἐποικησάντων, Βιθυνῶν τε καὶ Θυνῶν, ὁμολογεῖται παρὰ τῶν πλείστων, καὶ σημεῖα τίθενται τοῦ μὲν Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους τὸ μέχρι νῦν ἐν τῇ Θρᾴκῃ λέγεσθαί τινας Μαιδοβιθύνους (Βιθυνούς see Radt 2004: 424 app. crit. 31), τοῦ δὲ τῶν Θυνῶν τὴν Θυνιάδα ἀκτὴν τὴν πρὸς Ἀπολλωνίᾳ καὶ Σαλμυδησσῷ. καὶ οἱ Βέβρυκες δὲ οἱ τούτων προεποικήσαντες τὴν Μυσίαν Θρᾷκες, ὡς εἰκάζω ἐγώ. εἴρηται δ' ὅτι καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ Μυσοὶ Θρᾳκῶν ἄποικοί εἰσι τῶν νῦν λεγομένων Μοισῶν.

XII.3.4 (Radt 2004)

> Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν οὕτω λέγεται. τοὺς δὲ Μαριανδυνοὺς καὶ τοὺς Καύκωνας οὐχ ὁμοίως ἅπαντες λέγουσι. τὴν γὰρ δὴ Ἡράκλειαν ἐν τοῖς Μαριανδυνοῖς ἱδρῦσθαί φασι Μιλησίων κτίσμα, τίνες δὲ καὶ πόθεν, οὐδενὶ εἴρηται· οὐδὲ διάλεκτος <δ'> οὐδ' ἄλλη διαφορὰ ἐθνικὴ περὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους φαίνεται, παραπλήσιοι δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Βιθυνοῖς. ἔοικεν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο Θρᾴκιον ὑπάρξαι τὸ φῦλον.

Strasbourg Epodes

F 194 (Degani)

. [
η[
π . [ ]ν[. . .] . . . . [
κύμ[ατι] πλα[ζόμ]ενος·
κἀν Σαλμυδ[ησσ]ῷ̣ι γυμνὸν εὐφρονέ̣σ̣τ̣[ατα
Θρήϊκες ἀκρό[κ]ομοι
λάβοιεν – ἔνθ<α πόλλ'> ἀναπλήσει κακὰ
δούλιον ἄρτον ἔδων –
ῥίγει πεπηγότ' αὐτόν· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ χν<ό>ου
φυκία πόλλ' ἐπ̣ιχ<έ>οι,
κροτέοι δ' ὀδόντας, ὡς [κ]ύ̣ων ἐπὶ στόμα
κείμενος ἀκρασίηι
ἄκρον παρὰ ῥηγμῖνα κυμα[. . . . . ·
ταῦτ' ἐθέλοιμ' ἄ̣ν ἰδεῖν,
ὅς μ' ἠδίκησε, λ̣[ὰ]ξ δ' ἐφ' ὁρκίοισ' ἔβη,
τὸ πρίν ἑταῖρος [ἐ]ών.

Xenophon

Anab. VII.5 (Hude 1972)

> [1] Ὑπερβάλλουσι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Βυζαντίου Θρᾷκας εἰς τὸ Δέλτα καλούμενον· αὕτη δ᾽ ἦν οὐκέτι ἀρχὴ Μαισάδου, ἀλλὰ Τήρους τοῦ Ὀδρύσου ἀρχαίου τινός. [12] καὶ ἐπεὶ πάντες ἐπείσθησαν, συνεστρατεύοντο καὶ ἀφικνοῦνται ἐν δεξιᾷ ἔχοντες τὸν Πόντον διὰ τῶν Μελινοφάγων καλουμένων Θρᾳκῶν εἰς τὸν Σαλμυδησσόν. ἔνθα τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεουσῶν νεῶν πολλαὶ ὀκέλλουσι καὶ ἐκπίπτουσι· τέναγος γάρ ἐστιν ἐπὶ πάμπολυ τῆς θαλάττης. [13] καὶ οἱ Θρᾷκες οἱ κατὰ ταῦτα οἰκοῦντες στήλας ὁρισάμενοι τὰ καθ᾽ αὑτοὺς ἐκπίπτοντα ἕκαστοι λῄζονται. τέως δὲ ἔλεγον πρὶν ὁρίσασθαι ἁρπάζοντας πολλοὺς ὑπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ἀποθνῄσκειν. [14] ἐνταῦθα ηὑρίσκοντο πολλαὶ μὲν κλῖναι, πολλὰ δὲ κιβώτια, πολλαὶ δὲ βίβλοι [γεγραμμέναι], καὶ τἆλλα πολλὰ ὅσα ἐν ξυλίνοις τεύχεσι ναύκληροι ἄγουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν ταῦτα καταστρεψάμενοι ἀπῄσαν πάλιν.

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